# The Outlook

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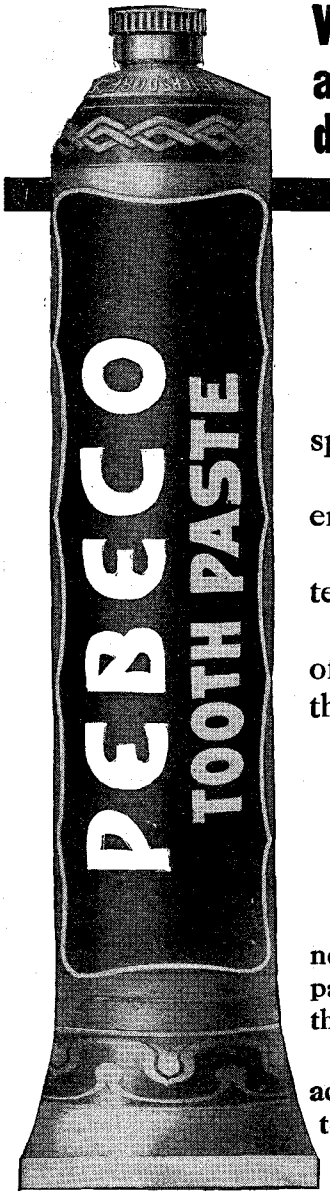


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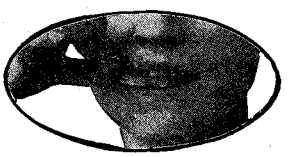

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# The Outlook

FEBRUARY 12, 1910

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief. HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor
THEODORE ROOSEVELT
Contributing Editor

THE MEAT BOYCOTT

The meat boycotters are apparently rapidly increasing in numbers. Their action has two good effects. First of all, it is reducing prices. Second, as the farmer needs to diversify his food output, so the consumer needs to diversify his food *in*put, and the boycott is suggesting that digestion is, as a rule, better promoted by eating meat once instead of twice a day. An incidental but necessary result is in the lessening of an item that foots up a quarter of the expense of some families and substituting therefor an item of less expense. As a suggestion towards such substitution and as a sign of the times meatless menus were presented last week to diners in some hotels, and they actually proved popular. Here is one of them:

Cream of spinach soup; broiled whitefish, maître d'hôtel sauce; fried jack salmon, tomato sauce; California asparagus on toast, hollandaise sauce; oyster patties; stuffed green peppers; baked macaroni, spaghetti italienne; Boston baked beans; mashed, boiled, and brown potatoes; carrots and peas; fried hominy; pineapple pudding, vanilla ice cream, and pie.

The result of abstinence on the part of the boycotters, as seen in the lowering of prices, has now been somewhat checked by the action of the producers and packers. They have cut down the supply in the face of a dwindling market. Hence, in some cases, prices went higher. The decline in the receipts of cattle, hogs, and sheep is remarkable, and this is due doubtless to the previous decline in price. The political import of the movement has not been lost upon the Washington legislators, and a resolution has been introduced in the House of Representatives providing for an investigation by the Ways and Means Committee into the cost, not only of meat, but of other necessities, including clothing, fuel, furniture, breadstuffs and provisions generally, and implements used in the process of getting them to the final consumer. The resolution includes an inquiry into both wholesale and retail prices of these necessities, and the rate of profit to those who sell and distribute them. The charges that the existing tariff laws and the trusts are responsible for the present situation will be investigated, and data will be gathered as to the relation of these laws to the change in costs. The Committee is authorized to extend its investigations to the situation in foreign countries, especially where our food products are sold at lower prices than at home, and in doing all this it is to have full power to take testimony under oath, to administer oaths, and to compel the presence of witnesses and the production of papers and records. All hearings are to be open to the public. Finally, the Committee is authorized to recommend such legislation as will, in its opinion, restore prices to a normal level. If the Ways and Means Committee can secure real information on the subject, it will do what no one else has yet done. The main question to be decided is, How much greater has been the advance in the cost of living than that in incomes?

THE BALLINGER-PINCHOT INVESTIGATION

In many respects the sessions of the Ballinger-Pinchot Investigating Committee resemble those of a court. Seated about a long table in one of the larger rooms of the Senate Office Building in Washington, this Committee, made up of Senators and Representatives, under the chairmanship



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of Senator Nelson, of Minnesota, listens almost continually from ten o'clock in the morning until five o'clock in the afternoon, with an adjournment for lunch, to the reading of documents and the testimony of witnesses. Since the members of this Committee have other important public duties, they do not sit every day. Mr. Glavis, the first witness, continued his testimony last week. In brief, it may be described as statements of fact, of belief, and of opinion in support of the view, to paraphrase his own words in answer to a question, that the coal in the public domain in Alaska would be better protected with Mr. Ballinger, the Secretary of the Interior, and Mr. Dennett, Commissioner of the Land Office, "out of the way." A charge not heretofore brought out was made that Mr. Ballinger, as attorney for claimants, participated in a transaction which involved fraud. It was a dramatic coincidence that, on the very day on which Mr. Glavis was testifying in regard to this transaction, a court on the other side of the continent was pronouncing the transaction a violation of the law. In fairness to Mr. Ballinger it should be said that his relation to this case has not yet been fully established. The rest of Mr. Glavis's testimony consisted of the narrative of his experiences in the Land Office which led him to make his protest against Mr. Ballinger to the President. This narrative has been told under the direct examination of Mr. Brandeis, who corresponds in this investigation to the counsel for the prosecution, has been supported by a large number of letters introduced as evidence, and has been tested by cross-examination on the part of the Committee. Inasmuch as, till last week, Mr. Ballinger had no counsel present at the investigation, it became the duty of the Committee itself to conduct the cross-examination. This, probably as much as anything, accounts for the apparent attitude of hostility which some of the members of the Committee have displayed toward the witness. It has been announced that, at the request of the Committee, Mr. Ballinger is now to be represented at the investigation by counsel. From the beginning of his testimony Mr. Glavis proved an exceedingly cool witness. His answers, given slowly and in a voice that in spite of its drawl is low and clear, were always well considered and sometimes so apt as to call forth a ripple of appreciation from the spectators and a suspicion of a smile from the Committee itself. For some reason the newspaper reports of these proceedings have altogether failed to give an adequate impression of the strength of the case Mr. Brandeis is presenting. The public interest in the personal elements of this investigation is very great, and may obscure the principles that underlie the various personal interests. It is right that men who have been unjustly assailed or unjustly treated should be vindicated. The question before the Committee is not merely whether this man or that man should be vindicated, but what constitutes that undivided allegiance to the public welfare which the public has a right to demand of every public official.

CONSERVATION IN THE SENATE

The bill drafted by Secretary Ballinger for the withdrawal of public lands for settlement provides that the Secretary of the Interior may, in his discretion, *temporarily* withdraw such lands pending submission to Congress of recommendations as to legislation respecting them, provided that he shall report all such withdrawals to Congress, and if no action is taken by Congress *may* (not shall) restore the same to the operation of the public land laws. For this the Senate Committee has substituted a bill which confers on the President power to withdraw such lands, which shall remain withdrawn until the order is revoked either by the President or by act of Congress. In the one case an act of Congress is required to make the withdrawal permanent; in the other case, either an act of Congress or a definite act of the President is required to repeal the withdrawal. The comment of the New York "Evening Post" on the contrast between these two bills goes to the root of the matter:

> If the power of the Executive to intervene is limited to the issuing of a temporary order of withdrawal by the Secretary of the Interior, all that the interested parties have to do is to prevent Congress from taking action in the premises—an extremely easy task—and await a favorable moment for getting the

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order they want from a Secretary of the Interior. In a word, the Committee's bill seeks to strengthen the hands of the President, though taking care to give him no arbitrary power, since Congress remains the final arbiter; while those opposed to it seem desirous of reducing as far as they dare the power of the Executive to protect the Nation's possessions. If they are wise, they will not press the issue.

The contrast between Mr. Ballinger's bill and the Committee's bill will reinforce the judgment of those who think that the Secretary is not the one to be intrusted with the protection of the public's interests in the public lands; not because he is corrupt—The Outlook repeats its belief in his integrity—but because he is not sufficiently in sympathy with the new movement. On the other hand, the Senate Committee's bill indicates a greater understanding of and sympathy with the Conservation movement in the Senate than the country had supposed.

GRAZING

During this time of investigation into the conditions governing the production of our meat supply much has been said about the hardships endured by stock-growers. There has been sharp criticism in Colorado and the adjoining States from those who chafe under the restrictions imposed upon grazing lands included within National forests. The lands included within these forests are (1) lands now covered with forest growth, (2) lands formerly forested and susceptible to reforestation, and (3) limited areas surrounded by forested lands which should be protected in order not to impair their water-conserving powers. The hurried surveys of previous years included small areas of arable land and also of purely grazing land within the boundaries of the National forests. But during the past year the Forest Service has been engaged in the work of determining the character of every acre of forest land, so that all agricultural and open grass land may be eliminated. This task is practically completed, and the proclamations eliminating lands not valuable principally for forest purposes are in course of preparation. It is interesting to learn that of the total area of the National forests not more than one per cent has been found to be of greater value for agricultural or other purposes than it is for forest purposes. Over three-quarters of the forest land, however, has a grazing value. Take, for example, land covered by open stands of timber, such as yellow pine, or the exposed southerly slopes of otherwise timbered hills, or the narrow valleys along streams, or the areas above timber line, or the burned-over and cut-over areas—all these produce excellent crops of forage and are desirable grazing grounds for cattle, horses, swine, sheep, and goats. Under proper restriction the utilization of these forage resources may be allowed without serious injury. As a matter of fact, it is allowed. The Government's primary aim, however, is not a source of revenue for itself but for the stock-growers. To exclude stock from the forest would entail a great financial loss upon many stock-growers and settlers. To show that their interests are considered, we may mention that during the past year over one million five hundred thousand cattle and horses and nearly eight million sheep and goats were provided with range upon National forest land. On such an amount of stock the estimated annual product has a value in beef, mutton, wool, hides, and pelts approximating twenty-five million dollars. These figures are eloquent as to the magnitude of the stock industry dependent in whole or in part upon the National forests. As to the grazing fees charged, the administration of the National forests costs the Government a certain sum annually, and a certain percentage of this cost is due to the supervision of the grazing required to protect the forests from damage. It is but fair, therefore, that those who enjoy grazing privileges in the National forests should reimburse the Government at least in part for the cost of an administration necessitated because of such privileges. The grazing fee covers the cost of the grazing administration. If it had been designed to produce revenue, the fee could have been justly made larger, because for the use of State, railway, and private lands adjacent to the National forests stock-growers are paying much higher prices despite advantages in many cases inferior to those afforded by the National forests. A notable example is that afforded by the Indian Reservations, upon which grazing privileges have

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been eagerly sought at prices two to five times those charged by the Forest Service for similar privileges.

FOREST TAXATION

Among the subjects considered at the recent meeting of the Governors at Washington was that of uniform legislation in taxation. In no domain is this more necessary than in that of forest lands, for four-fifths of our forests are privately owned and can be protected only by State laws. At present the general rule is to tax land with standing timber year after year under a general property tax as farm lands are taxed. But the farm lands produce an annual crop. The timber lands produce a crop once in many years. Thus the present tax system promotes forest destruction. As Mr. Charles Lathrop Pack, the forest expert, pertinently pointed out in his address at Washington, this kind of taxation was abandoned long ago by other great nations: "In fact, we are the only advanced nation with a crop of standing timber on its annual tax roll. As long as forests are taxed on the basis of an annual crop, the holding of young forests until they mature means financial loss to the owner. Under such conditions, the establishment of new forests cannot be expected. I believe that the taxation of forest lands should be based upon the yield when the timber is cut. The timber should be taxed separately from the land, and only, like other crops, after it is harvested. The land alone should be taxed annually." Not only would such a system be equitable in itself; it would insure, first of all, an increasing revenue from the forests. This would be specially the case in northern New England from the heavy cutters of timber there, whose incomes are out of all proportion greater than their taxes. Secondly, the tax receipts would be permanent, not temporary. As the report of the National Conservation Commission says, "An annual tax upon land itself, exclusive of the value of the timber, and a tax upon the timber when cut, are well adapted to actual conditions of forest investment and are practicable and certain. It is far better that forest land should pay a moderate tax permanently than that it should pay an excessive revenue temporarily and then cease to pay at all."

WILL NOT CONGRESS SPARE THE BOYS?

Undoubtedly with the best of intentions, Congress is in the process of working a great injury to American boys. Already the Senate has passed the bill which is full of peril to childhood, and the Judiciary Committee of the House has it now under consideration. This is known as Senate Bill 1942, "for the establishment of a probation and parole system for the District of Columbia." The general purpose of the bill is excellent. It is to enable the courts of the District of Columbia to do something more civilized with the prisoner guilty of offenses except the most serious than to send him to prison. It empowers the supreme, police, and juvenile courts of the District of Columbia to suspend sentence upon any prisoner, except such as may be guilty of any one of certain specified kinds, and to put him on probation. It also creates a probation commission which shall have supervision of probationers. This establishment of a probation system is, of course, in accordance with the soundest principles of penology. It is this fact which has apparently led Senators, and may lead Representatives, to overlook those features of the bill which are fundamentally bad. When it is remembered how many human destinies may be determined for evil by the enactment of such a law as this, there is reason in urging Congress to stop before it is too late. The wrong lies in the fact that the bill treats the small boy of twelve or thirteen years of age just as it treats the adult of fifty. It puts him under the same machinery of supervision, it puts him under the charge of the same persons, it puts his records in the same office with the records of the adult offender; it even puts him under the stigma of being a prisoner. The unfortunate boy who has gotten beyond the control of his parents, or who, having no parents, is wandering about without any suitable care, when he is brought before the juvenile court for incorrigibility or vagrancy, is, by the terms of this bill, liable to the same treatment as if he were an adult, supposed to be self-con-

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trolled and self-supporting. Or if he is a boy in the National Training School in the District of Columbia and is sent from there on parole, he is, under the terms of this bill, in exactly the same position as the adult prisoner released on parole from the custody of a United States penitentiary. This bill, therefore, in the process of establishing a probation system, is violating the very principle which has led to the establishment of juvenile courts as distinct from other courts, and of boys' and girls' training-schools as distinct from workhouses, reformatories, and jails. Certainly the parole and probation system ought to be extended to adults, but it ought not to be done in violation of that modern treatment of delinquent children which does not permit them under any circumstances to be put into the category of the criminal class. The Outlook feels sure that Congress, when it realizes what it is doing, will at least amend the bill so as to save children from the intolerable burden which now, in apparent unconsciousness of what it is doing, it contemplates putting upon them.

**PORTO RICO: PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES**

The President of the United States transmits for the consideration of Congress a report made by the Secretary of War upon conditions existing in Porto Rico, giving his especial indorsement to the recommendation providing that suffrage in the island should be limited by an educational and property qualification. The bill proposed by the Secretary of War, and embodying in legal form his recommendations, has been promptly introduced by Mr. Olmsted, who is Chairman on Insular Affairs, and has been referred to that Committee, and it may be assumed that the whole matter will be brought before the House at an early day for its consideration. The fact that Mr. Olmsted has introduced this bill does not indicate necessarily that he is in favor of all its positions. Its most essential features appear to us to be the following:

1. Citizens of Porto Rico may become citizens of the United States by a naturalization process. After two years, only citizens of the United States shall be eligible to election or appointment to any office in Porto Rico.

2. The Governor and heads of Departments shall hold office, not for a definite term of four years, but at the pleasure of the President and until their successors are appointed.

3. In lieu of the present Executive Council there shall be a Senate of thirteen members, eight of whom shall be appointed every four years by the President, five of whom shall be elected every four years by the qualified electors of Porto Rico by Senatorial districts.

4. Only those shall vote in Porto Rico who are either able to read and write, *or* own taxable real estate, *or* have paid taxes for the last six months of the year in which the election is held.

5. All franchises granted by the local Government must be approved by the President, and shall be subject to amendment, alteration, or appeal; stock-watering is forbidden.

In the main these provisions seem to us to be wise. We are doubtful, however, whether taxpayers should be allowed to vote unless they can either read or write some language or own taxable property; *i. e.*, whether the mere payment of a head tax should be a sufficient qualification; and we are also doubtful whether it is wise to take the heads of Departments out of the Senate, as apparently this bill would do. The only argument for such action is found in the following sentence in the statement of the Secretary of War, that he approves it "more because it is in accord with our general theory of government than on account of any inefficiency in the Government." Having the heads of Departments in the Senate is in accord with the English plan, and works well. The only serious objection to it is that during the sixty days' session of the Senate the heads of Departments are overworked. The advantage of it is that it brings the heads of Departments in closer relation to one another, and keeps the practical working of the Government in the open and constantly before the Legislature. The provisions for a limitation of the suffrage and for a voluntary and not compulsory citizenship are, as our readers know, in accord with the principles which The Outlook has long advocated.

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A BAD CASE OF CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

The spirit of class selfishness receives a striking exhibition in the protest which has been made against the promotion of a public school teacher in New York for no other reason than that she has courageously opposed those members of her profession who have been crying out for "equal wages for equal work." And this kind of demagoguery does not often receive a more striking illustration than in this paragraph from the letter of one of the protestants against the appointment:

> On several occasions Miss Ruth Granger has publicly stated that she did not consider that a woman did, or could do, the same work as a man, and, further, that she was not entitled to the same salary as a man. Consequently, we feel justified in saying that, since she considers herself inferior in capability to the men members of her profession, it is unfair to the city (her employer), and equally unfair to the other women who do not, like Miss Granger, avow themselves to be hampered in efficiency or capability, to appoint her to one of the very few positions in the service which commands a salary equal to that of the male incumbents of the office.

What nonsense! Woodrow Wilson and Arthur T. Hadley and Charles W. Eliot are leaders in American education; but they would not make good kindergartners and could not do in a kindergarten the same work as a woman. Therefore, according to the logic of the writer of this letter, they ought not to be promoted to be college presidents. At present nearly three-quarters of the teachers in the public schools of the United States are women; and practically all disinterested writers on education are agreed that the pupils suffer from lack of masculine influence. Of course a woman cannot exercise masculine influence as well as a man—least of all a masculine woman. Those whom the writer of this letter represents seem to think that schools exist for teachers, not for pupils. We hope that General Wingate, of the Board of Education, correctly represents the Board in the closing paragraph of his reply:

> I cannot help thinking that if there are a large number of teachers who entertain these feelings towards another teacher because she differs from them upon a matter that touches their pocket, it is time that they understood that in the schools, as well as in other places, teachers have the right of free thought and free speech, and that the members of the Board of Education will not be influenced in their promotion upon any other consideration than their merits as teachers.

There is only one question for a Board of Education to consider in making an appointment: What kind of a teacher is needed by the pupils in this school, and where and how can it get such a teacher with the money at its disposal?

THE CRUELTY OF ANTI-VIVISECTION

The anti-vivisectionists are urging the Legislature of New York to pass a law creating a commission of seven members, three of whom shall be nominated by a society practically pledged to anti-vivisection, and prohibiting all vivisection except on premises designated by this commission and under such expert inspection as the commission shall prescribe. That vivisection should be regulated by the State, The Outlook has always maintained. It now is regulated by the State. It can be performed only by persons who have received authority from the State, as law and medicine can be practiced only by persons who have received authority from the State. It is possible that further regulation may be needed; but before the Legislature enacts any further regulations it should take counsel of experts who believe in the value to the human race of vivisection practiced under proper regulation; and in any action which the Legislature takes it should not depart from the sound principle of restricting the practice of vivisection to thoroughly qualified persons and then giving them that full liberty which scientific inquiry must have in order to be efficient. It is almost impossible to overestimate the service which has been rendered to humanity in the prevention and cure of disease and the alleviation of pain in men and women by the expert experimentation upon animals. To interfere with such experimentation requires expert knowledge and sane judgment. Dr. Flexner, the head of the Rockefeller Institute in New York, puts the whole issue tersely and conclusively in a letter published in the New York "Times:"

> As a final word, I should like to add that never in the history of mankind has medi-

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cine not been an experimental calling. Formerly, however, the experiments were conducted on a vast scale on ill human beings, painfully conscious, and with a rate of progress in knowledge that was slow and discouraging. To-day, on the other hand, the experiments are made upon animals, unconscious through anæsthesia, and with a degree of success and rapidity of progress in knowledge which gives to this age the distinction of being the foremost and most beneficent in all the history of medicine.

The Outlook commends this paragraph to "Life" for republication.

BARON DAIROKU KIKUCHI

The extent to which distant parts of the world are drawing together is illustrated by the visit to the United States of Baron Dairoku Kikuchi, of Japan, President of the Imperial University of Kyoto and formerly Minister of Education. It is believed to be without parallel that a distinguished foreigner should undertake a seven-thousand-mile journey for the primary purpose of delivering a single public address, though this occasion recalls a somewhat similar incident when, two years ago this month, Professor Paul Milyukov also made a very long journey from St. Petersburg to New York. He also came in compliance with an invitation from the Civic Forum of New York City, and the journey was made solely to speak once in this country. He remained but three days in America, returning immediately to St. Petersburg, where his presence was required as a member of the Duma, the lower house of the Russian Parliament. An invitation from the Civic Forum to make an address from its platform had been presented in person to Count Komura, Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, by Dr. Jokichi Takamine, a prominent Japanese resident of New York. Unable to respond, Count Komura nominated Baron Kikuchi for this mission. This gentleman was partly educated in England, where he took highest honors at the University of Cambridge. He delivered last year before the University of London a series of lectures (since published in book form) on Japanese Education, which constitute probably the most complete and authoritative work on that subject in any language. As Professor Milyukov described "The New Russia," so at the Civic Forum meeting last week Baron Kikuchi's subject was "The New Japan: Its Moral and Intellectual Development." Justice David J. Brewer, of the Supreme Court at Washington and Vice-President of the Civic Forum, presided and introduced the speaker. As was expected, Baron Kikuchi's address had international interest and importance. He concluded thus:

> At the present moment we are perhaps approaching another critical stage; there are many important problems arising from the clashing of old-established order and new ideas. Thus, for instance, our social system is built upon family as units and not individuals; many young men, and women too, are beginning to chafe under it and are no longer willing to submit quietly without questioning to restraints imposed upon them by such a system. There seems to be a need of readjustment of the old systems and new ideas, so as to retain the best of the old and introduce what is good in the new. In fact, there is a general restiveness against old authorities and doubts about their *raison d'être*. I cannot say anything as to the future, except that it is our belief and trust that as we have preserved the characteristics of our nationality during so many centuries, through so many changes, and under such different influences, adapting to our own needs alien civilization and its methods, and assimilating them to our own national spirit, we may still continue to do so in the face of these new problems, and find a solution of them in accordance with our old traditions and the fundamental character of our Empire.

ÉDOUARD ROD

The French critic and novelist, Édouard Rod, who died last week at the age of fifty-two, was a Swiss, and always remained a Swiss citizen, though he long lived in Paris. His father was a schoolmaster at Nyon, on the Lake of Geneva, and it was to Nyon that Rod ever delighted to return. Those who were privileged to see him there, rather than at his Paris residence in the Rue Erlanger, saw him at his best, his sturdy Swiss face aglow with enthusiasm for his picturesque birthplace as he looked across the lake to the vast environment of Mont Blanc, his keen eyes acute to discern the difference between the petty interests of the peasants or the villa folk along the lake and the great interests of the larger life, his analytical mind ready to point out what seem such evident truths once they are pointed out! To appreciate Rod one must needs begin with his earlier short stories and sketches

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of Switzerland as found in his "Scènes de la Vie Suisse." They are full of the flavor of his country. They do not proceed from other than the Nyon basis. In his later books there is a reminder of what he learned at the universities, especially of Schopenhauer's philosophy, then of what he learned from the realism of Zola, and then of what he learned from Richard Wagner. All these phases were but prefatory to his real work; and he emerged from them a critic of life, especially of that of the so-called lower middle classes, from which he drew most of his characters. His "Michel Tessier" showed the interworking between political activity and private life; his "Rochers Blancs," the struggle between feminine virtue and a narrow masculine virility; his less melancholy "Là-haut," the contrast between puerility and largeness of vision; and his "Vainquer," the struggle of idealists amid industrial materialism. In all these one may trace the impelling force of what might be called a Nonconformist conscience. Perhaps the hortatory impulse and the wish to teach, also very evident in the recent novels of M. René Bazin, stood in the way of any remarkable brilliance of style in the Rod romances. Readers gradually became accustomed to an absence of what they found a-plenty in the books of an Anatole France, for instance. The novels of Rod and Bazin are found in the hands of those who do not care so much for clever phrase-making as for searchings into human motive and for suggestions for new thoughts and new life. The more austere of these readers found peculiar satisfaction in Rod's articles in the "Revue des Deux Mondes" and in his volumes of criticism. Such a man was worthy of a place in the French Academy. Ten years ago, at the invitation of the Cercle Français of Harvard University, Rod came to this country and lectured on the history of French dramatic poetry, a task for which his five years' earlier service as professor in the University of Geneva well fitted him.

**RECENT NEWS ABOUT BACON**

The failure to discover the manuscripts of Bacon published under the name of other well-known writers of his time, in a cellar or under a mound in England, will not for a moment blight the imagination of the ladies and gentlemen of the Baconian persuasion. Nothing daunts this eager company of ingenious people, who are the victims of one of the most extraordinary illusions in the history of literature. Little did Miss Delia Bacon foresee the woes she was to let loose upon mankind when she opened the casket of the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy. The Outlook does not propose to open its columns to that flood-tide of discussion; but some recent discoveries of ardent Baconians have attracted its attention. It appears now to be the belief that Bacon left three caches, so to speak, of manuscripts—one in Wales and two in England. It is even hinted that he was the son of Queen Elizabeth and that his father was the Earl of Leicester; that he was the author of Sidney's "Arcadia" and of many of the plays of Ben Jonson in addition to those usually associated with Shakespeare. A list of eighty-five works of Bacon which appeared under various pseudonyms has recently been compiled; among them, Montaigne's Essays, the King James Translation of the Scriptures, and Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity." John Fiske's remark that Bacon created the world in six days and rested on the seventh was evidently premature; in a career of such colossal industry there could have been no rest day! Students have a wide choice of Baconian ciphers, of which it is said that nineteen have been thoroughly developed. Any one of these ciphers will make the most astonishing revelations of the universality of Bacon's mind. Applied indiscriminately to the Elizabethan literature, to Mark Twain's books, and to inscriptions on tombstones in American country churchyards, the same result is invariably secured. It would very much simplify the labors of students of English literature if all books of Bacon's time could be published under his name. A popular edition of Bacon would thus bring within the hands of an eager reader an enormous body of the most inspiring and interesting literature, and very ingenious and skillful editors of the various works in this series could be found in a large number of public institutions in this country, the nature of which need not be specified!

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THE FIGHT AGAINST TUBERCULOSIS IN CANADA

It is estimated that in Canada eighteen persons for every 10,000 of the population die annually of tuberculosis. In other words, every year this malady carries off about 12,000 victims (some authorities say 15,000), and not only does the death-roll thus exceed the number of fatalities from railway accidents and all other infectious diseases combined, but there are at least 40,000 persons suffering from tuberculosis, who are a source of danger to the community. Through ignorance and lack of proper care, this army of unfortunates is constantly recruited, but the number of victims varies considerably in the different provinces and among different classes. For instance, in the census year 1901 the death rate from tuberculosis in Quebec and Nova Scotia was considerably above the average for the Dominion, and at present the number of cases of consumption among some tribes of Indians is simply appalling. Nevertheless, the situation in Canada has never before been so hopeful as it is to-day, for the work of a few faithful leaders in the campaign is beginning to tell, the public is becoming interested, and the governments of the Dominion, the provinces, and the municipalities are all being forced into the struggle. Measures for the control of bovine tuberculosis, for the prevention and treatment of consumption among the Indians, and for the exclusion and deportation of diseased immigrants are instituted by the Dominion Government, and for several years it has made a grant of from $2,000 to $5,000 to the Canadian Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis. It is probable that this grant will be increased, for very recently a resolution was unanimously carried in Parliament, after a most interesting and instructive debate, urging the duty of taking more active steps to lessen the suffering and mortality caused by the white plague. The National Association was organized in 1901 for educational work. It holds an annual conference, distributes literature, and under its auspices exhibitions have been held and hundreds of lectures delivered. In general, matters of public health, such as the regulation and support of hospitals, the inspection of factories and schools, and measures for the suppression of infectious diseases, come under the jurisdiction of the provinces. In some respects Ontario has led the way in practical work. The secretary of the Provincial Board of Health has gathered a tuberculosis exhibit for the use of local boards and Anti-Tuberculosis Associations, and for six weeks in the autumn this travels from one rural fair to another. Thirteen years ago, in 1896, the Muskoka Cottage Sanatorium was established for the treatment of incipient cases, but this was not available for the most needy, and in 1902 the Muskoka Free Hospital for consumptives was erected. In 1904 the Toronto Free Hospital for advanced consumptives was opened, the first institution, according to an eminent English physician, Sir W. H. Broadbent, "erected purely and simply with a view to prevention." This hospital is also a training-school for nurses. In 1902 an act was passed in Ontario by which any municipality or recognized association establishing a sanatorium may receive Government aid up to $4,000, in the proportion of one-fifth of the cost. Only four institutions have as yet benefited by this law, and the municipalities have been disappointingly slow in erecting sanatoriums. In the other provinces, Nova Scotia, Quebec, and British Columbia have special hospitals for consumptives, bringing up the total in the Dominion to a dozen institutions, having beds for about five hundred patients, of whom rather over two-thirds may be admitted free. Other such hospitals are projected. A few towns have camps for consumptives, supported largely by charitable organizations, and the cities of Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, and Hamilton have dispensaries, with visiting nurses attached, to give relief, attention, and instruction to tuberculous patients. British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan require general hospitals to make suitable provision for consumptives. These three provinces and Quebec have made compulsory the notification to the health officers of cases of tuberculosis and the disinfection of houses after the death or removal of a patient. A few municipalities in the other provinces have made the same regulations. In almost

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all the provinces sputum is examined free of charge in the provincial laboratories.

A CIVIC SERVICE HOUSE

The Civic Service House of Boston has just made public a record of its activities since its foundation, nearly nine years ago. These are particularly noteworthy, for in various respects it differs from the typical neighborhood settlement. It began with the aim to specialize settlement work along civic lines. Hence children's work is not included in its programme; there is no lounging, no play as such; social activities are wholly incidental to study and service. Its director, Mr. Meyer Bloomfield, who had been associated with the first settlement house in this country from the time of its opening, proposed to adapt settlement work to the civic needs of the "New Americans" who fill the congested North End, where the Civic Service House serves a multitude of immigrant peoples. Jews of the tenement-house grade swarm all around; close by is the Italian quarter, and several other races are numerously represented in the neighborhood. At a roof-garden concert given at the House one warm summer evening typical folk-songs in six European tongues were heard. The institution seeks to prevent the appalling waste of sound human material that has so largely marked our dealings, or lack of dealings, with immigrant problems, and to work up this raw material as efficiently as possible into a high-grade product of advanced civilization. To get suitable work the immigrant needs to learn English promptly. He is hungry for the chance. And here comes in the great opportunity to fit him for civic duties as a dynamic factor in good citizenship. In this way the work of the Civic Service House aims to offset the predatory forces that depend upon using the immigrant voter as one of the chief instrumentalities for the debauching of public life. It is a strategic moment. In its record the Civic Service House well emphasizes the need of "counteracting the shock which the first raw impressions of the New World bring to the sensitive, the idealistic alien who comes to these shores with visions we cannot afford to have him lose." So there is at the House a school for citizenship, with six special winter classes. This work led to the preparation of the "Civic Reader for New Americans," described in The Outlook a few years ago, its chapters contributed by prominent specialists on the subjects treated. So great is the immigrant thirst for practical knowledge that through the summer, when the public schools are closed and immigration is usually heaviest, a roof-garden night school at the House, interspersed with concerts and lectures, is taxed to its fullest capacity.

CIVIC AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

Further along in the House programme comes the Breadwinners' Institute, its emphasis laid upon public effectiveness. Hence public speaking is the chief study. Here the influence of instructors volunteering from Harvard University and from other leading educational institutions is profound. Social activities are represented by sixteen clubs that meet at the House, all with the civic emphasis. Both sexes and six nationalities are represented, and the ages run from eighteen to forty-five years. One club bears the name of Emerson, another of Webster; there is a Dante Literary Circle and a Thomas Davidson Culture Circle. At the Lincoln centennial celebration at the House Dr. Edward Everett Hale made one of his last appearances in public. In organizing the Boston Vocation Bureau the House performed a service that promises to become of National significance. The undertaking originated with the late Professor Frank Parsons, whose sympathetic nature was keenly alive to the importance of enabling young people to "find themselves" when just starting in active life. He began by giving much time at the Civic Service House to counseling young men as to a choice of vocation, preceded by judicious conferences that threw light on character, inclinations, tendencies, and capabilities. Intended simply as a small local experiment, Professor Parsons's work succeeded beyond all expectation. The Vocation Bureau soon grew into an independent institution with an executive board made up of some of the leading educators, philanthropists, and business men in Boston. The Bureau has become officially

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affiliated with the Boston public school system. Vocational schools are already an important factor in the educational movement in Massachusetts, a circumstance that makes the creation of this Bureau peculiarly timely. The task of the Bureau is uncommonly difficult and delicate. Few educational activities are so absolutely involved with the personal equation. Like its clientele, the Bureau is still engaged in finding itself. Its processes and methods must be developed by experimentation; they cannot follow hard and fast lines but must depend largely upon the individuality, the sympathetic attitude, and the tactfulness of the persons in charge of the work. But, guided by the basic fact that the secret of success lies in doing well the work one is fitted for, there can be little doubt that well-defined ways and means will be found to discover the work that competent persons should be guided to do in order to make the best of themselves. The Bureau aims to induce a right start, "an intelligent instead of a blind reaching out for opportunities; a strong instead of a feeble attack at work; a well-laid-out, purposeful, and visionful plan of life instead of a hand-to-mouth, meaningless scramble just to 'get on.'" It does not attempt to decide what vocation should be chosen. It simply helps the individual to choose for himself—helping with counsel, suggestion, sympathy, information, and practical directions. It stands without bias as to particular vocations, but, whenever needed, it raises "vocational storm signals" against occupations that may be overcrowded, decadent, or, in respect to the applicant, undesirable and possibly unsafe.

THE PAULIST FATHERS' JUBILEE

The Catholic laity of New York concluded the Golden Jubilee of the Paulist Fathers, an account of whom was given in The Outlook last week, by an assembly which filled Carnegie Hall from floor to ceiling. The rise of the Paulists to meet the need of a critical time was compared to that of the Franciscans in the thirteenth century and of the Jesuits in the sixteenth. Half a century ago the Roman Catholic Church in this country was distinctively a church of the foreign-born. The Order of St. Paul the Apostle was then constituted by seceders from the Protestant Episcopal Church. It was a result of that Oxford movement which had carried Newman, Manning, and others out of the Anglican Church. From this time American Catholicism began to lose its exotic character and to grow from the soil. The missionary aim expressed in the Paulists' name brings into the Church, said Archbishop Farley, 30,000 converts year by year. "Example and education," said Mr. Walter George Smith, of Philadelphia, are the means on which they depend to effect their great object, "the conversion of America." Their Christian example is certainly worthy of all praise. Some fifteen years ago the Paulists unwittingly gave rise to a controversy in Catholic Europe, recently revived under the term "Modernism." The Life of their founder, Father Hecker, was widely read in France. Progressive Catholics admired the free initiative shown by him and such Catholic prelates as sympathized with Paulist methods. This seemed to the conservatives dangerous to ecclesiastical authority and obedience. A hot fire was opened on what critics called "Americanism," and, through a letter of kindly warning from Leo XIII to Cardinal Gibbons, it was at least temporarily repressed, although its spirit was not quenched.

A CORRECTION CORRECTED

The statement in last week's Outlook that "in the only States in which the question of woman suffrage has been submitted to women—Massachusetts and Washington—it has been defeated" is in one respect incorrect. We judge from a reconsideration of the paragraph in Larned's "History for Ready Reference" that the women did not vote in 1889 on the question whether female suffrage should be maintained in Washington. But in New Jersey, early in the nineteenth century, after woman suffrage had been tried for a number of years, a Legislature, in the election of which women participated, repealed woman suffrage, apparently without any protest from the women of the State. The New Jersey experience is both interesting and instructive, and we may hereafter give it to our readers.

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# THE POLICY OF SECRETARY KNOX

Our Federal Administration is largely one of lawyers. The lawyers who compose the Federal Administration have possibly not sufficiently realized the importance of keeping the public fully informed of what they are doing in their client's interest. The daily press, therefore, is not perhaps altogether to blame for not being better informed as to what is going on in Washington. It certainly has not well understood Secretary Knox's policy in the Far East. We hope that this article, with the accompanying map, will make the essential features of the plan clear to the reader.

In population China, with her four hundred millions, is the greatest of empires, but in real strength she is one of the weakest; for strength depends on organization, and China is an ill-organized, one might almost say an unorganized, Empire. This was so evident ten years ago that the land-hungry Powers confidently talked of "the partition of China." Russia was to have Manchuria, Mongolia, and Chinese Turkestan, which cover the Empire's great northern region; Japan and Germany were to have the two principal eastern provinces; England was to absorb the central provinces; France the southern. Nor was this all. The Powers would erect their own tariff barriers about these several regions. So alarming was this outlook to the Chinese that in 1900 an anti-foreign insurrection broke out, led by the fanatical Boxers. Many innocent foreigners were killed and much property was destroyed. The Chinese Imperial family fled from the capital. The Powers intervened and restored order. With China prostrate, one might think that the Powers would have made good their policy of partitioning China. They might have done so but for one man's courage.

John Hay was then American Secretary of State. Alone among Foreign Secretaries, he dared to treat the Chinese Government, then in hiding, as one worthy of respect, for he declared that the Boxers had wronged it as much as they had wronged the foreigners. The Hay policy shamed the reactionary Empress Dowager into backing the progressive members of the Chinese Government in their desire to introduce certain American and European methods into the Chinese system. The European Powers were confused. Each was jealous of the other. One by one they acknowledged that the Hay policy was not only the one policy fair to China, but the only one on which lasting international comity could rest, and that, in Mr. Hay's words, there must be, first, preservation of Chinese territorial and administrative entity, and, second, insistence upon the "open door," or equality of commercial privileges for all nations.

But this agreement concerned the future, and arrangements previously made were left practically undisturbed. Among these arrangements was a railway concession, or, in American vernacular, a railway franchise, granted by China in 1896 to Russia to build a railway from the Siberian frontier to the eastern coast through the Chinese province of Manchuria. This railway was to divide at or near Harbin: one branch to go east to Vladivostok, which is a Siberian port, closed in winter by the ice; the other, south to Dalny, an ice-free port of Manchuria. By the terms of this franchise the road was to revert to China in eighty years from its completion, and China had further the right to purchase it forty-four years earlier—that is, in thirty-six years from its completion. The road was completed in 1902; China will therefore have a right to buy it back in 1938, and it will revert to China automatically and without such repurchase in 1982.

Japan looked with apprehension at this approach of Russia toward her own island Empire. This apprehension was increased when Russia claimed under her franchise the right to exercise police authority in the municipalities through which the railway passed. The result was a political control of Manchuria practically approximating sovereignty. Russia has never voluntarily resigned a sovereignty of which she has once become possessed. Japan did not believe that Manchuria would cease to be dominated by Russian influence either in 1938 by the Chinese purchase of the railway or in 1982 by reversion to China under the terms of the franchise. Her apprehension of the future was one of the

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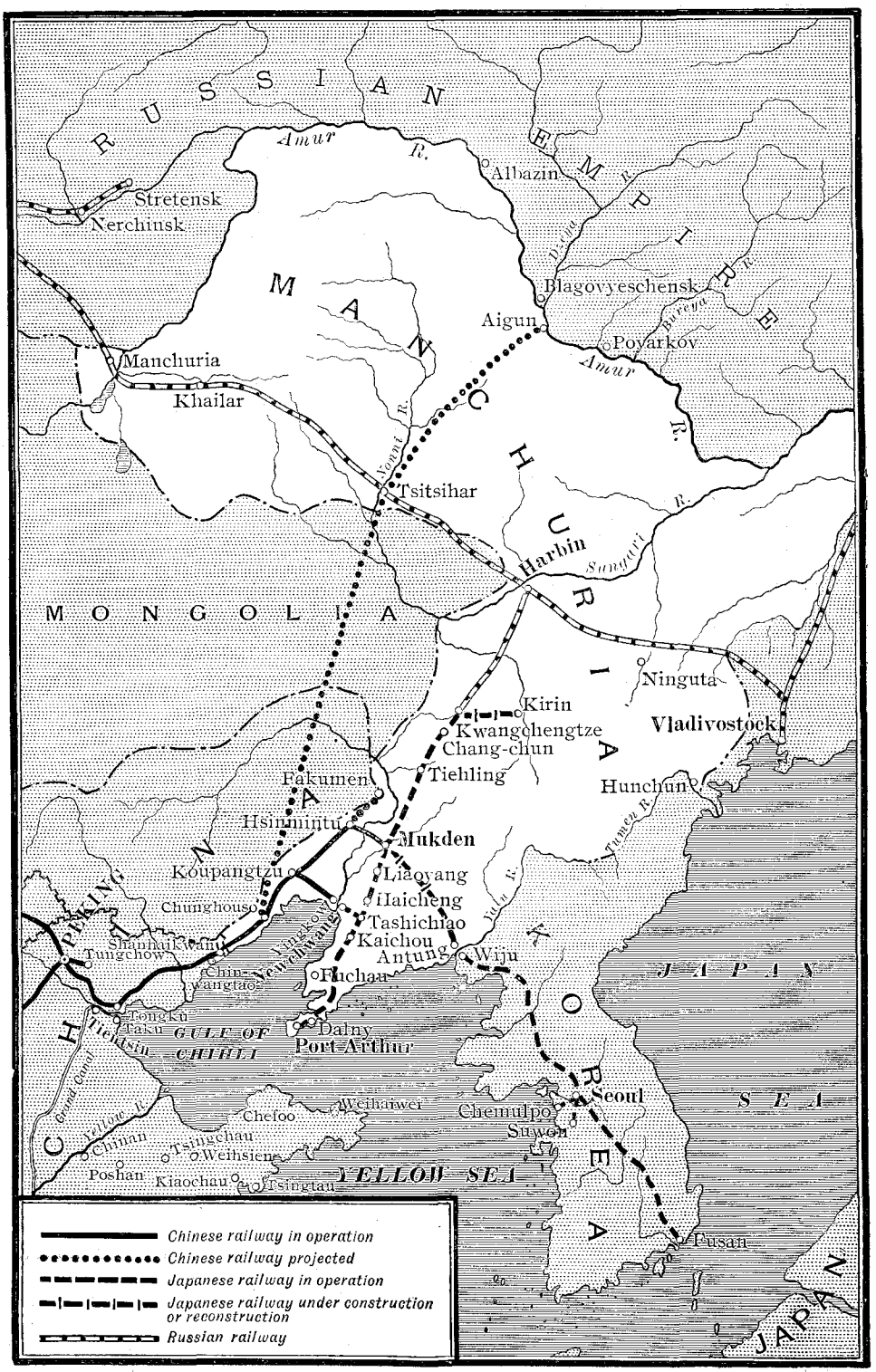


THE CHINESE RAILWAYS

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causes of the Russo-Japanese War, begun in 1904.

At the close of that war Japan was in military possession of southern Manchuria, roughly speaking, from Dalny to Harbin; Russia remained in military possession of northern Manchuria, including the railway line from the Siberian border to Vladivostok. By the treaty of peace between Russia and Japan Russia was left in undisturbed possession of this railway from the Siberian border to Vladivostok, but Japan became possessed of Russian rights south of that line—that is, of the Chinese franchise giving administrative control over the line from a point near Harbin to Dalny. This, of course, Japan took subject to the conditions of the franchise; that is, she was under obligation to sell the road to China on request in 1938, and the road would revert to China, in any event, in 1982. Whatever police authority and resultant political control that franchise involved she also assumed. For all practical purposes to-day Manchuria is divided into two provinces: in the southern half Japan exercises a dominating influence, in the northern half Russia.

The railway, owned, operated, and controlled by Russian and Japanese capitalists, is, naturally, operated in Russian and Japanese interests. The Russian and Japanese shippers have an advantage, not formal and avowed, but unavowed and even to some extent unconscious. It may not be true that secret rebates are granted to such shippers, but this is alleged, and there is no impartial tribunal to determine whether the allegation is true. If an American and a Japanese shipper both have goods at Harbin which they wish to get promptly to Dalny, the Japanese goods may perhaps have no advantage in time over the American, but so long as the road is owned and operated by the Japanese so long there will be American suspicion of favoritism. The suspicions exist, the complaints are made, and there is no impartial railway commission to investigate them. To meet these conditions and to secure a railway through her own undisputed territory and under her own undisputed control, China proposed to build a railway from the coast through Mongolia to the Russian railway at Tsitsibar, west of Harbin, and English and American capitalists were prepared to loan the money necessary to build this road.

Such was the state of affairs in Manchuria when, on the 4th of March last, the present Administration took office. Mr. Knox, the Secretary of State, soon after he took his seat grasped the situation and proposed a remedy. It was none other than the application to Manchuria of Mr. Hay's policy—"China for the Chinese," and the "open door" or equality of commercial privileges in China for all nations. For this purpose he proposed that the plan for a British-American railway through Mongolia be abandoned, and that instead capital should be secured in the six great nations—Japan, Russia, Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States—and loaned to China to enable her to anticipate 1938 and purchase the Manchurian railway now. The capitalists were willing; the European Powers were willing; but Russia and Japan were not. As the purchase could be made only with their consent, their unwillingness ended that phase of the negotiations.

Then the second state in the negotiations was opened. Secretary Knox, still seeking China for the Chinese and equal commercial privileges for all, reverted to the plan of a road through Mongolia, but proposed that capitalists from all six nations—Russia, Japan, Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States—unite in furnishing the capital with which China should build that road, which China will own and operate, subject to such supervision as may be necessary to make the foreign investors safe. Capitalists in England, Germany, and the United States are ready to co-operate in this enterprise; France is awaiting the answer of Russia. There is good reason to hope that all six nations will assent, that capitalists from all six nations will co-operate, and that thus a Chinese railway, owned and operated by the Chinese and running from the sea to the interior, will be built for the equal advantage of all commercial nations. There is one obstacle. A secret treaty between China and Japan prevents China from building in the neighborhood a railway parallel to the Japanese railway from Dalny to Harbin. As this

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secret agreement was obtained under duress, and as it contradicts the Treaty of Portsmouth, signed by Russia and Japan, which pledges both nations not to place any obstacle in the way of measures for commercial development in Manchuria which apply equally to all nations, it cannot be regarded as binding.

So long as The Outlook, in common with others of its contemporaries, thought that this plan involved certain mutual obligations, not clearly defined, between the United States Government and other world powers, we doubted its expediency. For while we are not inclined to regard Washington's counsel against "entangling alliances" as though it were a Constitutional prohibition that cannot be disregarded in the changed circumstances of our time, neither are we inclined to discard it altogether. But, if we now correctly understand and have here correctly interpreted the plan, if it involves only a co-operation between the capitalists of various nations to enable China to build a much-needed railway to develop her undeveloped territory, and from our Government such protection to American capital involved as would be afforded to any American capital invested in Chinese territory, we can see no objection and much advantage. It would be of advantage to China commercially, both because it would develop a now undeveloped country, and because it would open a shorter route for her goods to Europe; politically and strategically, because it would give her a railway connection with Russia wholly in her own territory and under her own control. It would be of advantage to the United States commercially, both because it would give an opportunity to American capitalists for foreign investment at a time when the demand for American investment is lessening, and because it would open a great territory to American commerce on equal terms with other countries; politically, because it would constitute a new bond of friendship between the United States and China. By its terms it offers these advantages equally to the other Powers, including Russia and Japan. It would be of advantage to Russia in furnishing another railway to feed her Trans-Siberian Railway, and would be of disadvantage to Japan only in so far as it deprived her of a railway monopoly which gives, or is supposed to give, her special advantages to which she is not entitled under that "open door" policy to which she has officially pledged herself.

We hope that we have here made it clear that Mr. Knox's policy is not a plan to promote the special interests of certain American financiers; it is a plan to give all countries equal commercial chances in China, and therefore to America an equal chance with other countries, and, what is even more important, to help China to develop her own resources and her own nationality.

## THE CITY'S TOLL

Human history repeats itself, just because it is human. The old Greek tradition, which every one remembers, of the doomed youths and maidens who every year were chosen by lot from out the city of Athens to be sent as tribute to the Minotaur, who devoured them, is living history to-day. The modern city pays its toll—any city, every city, where conditions are wrong—and the toll is always in young and precious human lives.

Misgovernment is a word that at first suggests only abstract images of wrong. Streets that are not cleaned, money that is being wasted, fraudulent contracts, bosses enriched by municipal plunder—these are the things that the citizen thinks about when he thinks of a city ring. But the city's toll is never paid in these easy, impersonal ways. It is a toll, always in the end, of living bodies and living souls. A city misgoverned is a city where youths and maidens, men and women, must perish, year after year, in the maw of the monster. And the Minotaur, who asked for only fourteen lives yearly, was mercy itself compared with a modern city machine.

Politics cannot be set apart. Politics is the city itself, as the word "politics" proclaims in its etymology. Those who know the life of cities know how the politician controls every part. Misgovernment means typhoid in the tenements, the saloon dives preying on the poor, the protected criminal, the horror of the white slave. No man living in a misgoverned city need shudder at atrocities in Russia

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or massacres in bloody Dahomey or cannibal rites in Africa or horrors along the Congo. Within the borders of his own community the agonies of death and worse than death are being inflicted on innocent bodies and souls. A city machine lives not by the comparatively praiseworthy atrocities of money misappropriation, waste, and graft. Not by such toll is the monster really fed. Tears of mothers, agony of fathers, hapless suffering of doomed victims, terrors and oppressions unmentionable, must glut its thirst. The kindest, the jolliest, the best-groomed, the most open-handed of ward politicians is only a mask upon the face of cruel death. The city pays in human lives for every alliance with vice, every saloon deal, every fraudulent inspection. Those rotten life-preservers on the General Slocum—how awful was the toll! Yet the sacrifice of those hundreds of innocent victims is more than exceeded every year and never realized, because it is done in the dark places of misgovernment and kept out of the sight of the people.

Not until every voter understands these things will misgovernment perish. But with each voter who learns to understand it good city government comes nearer. The city of the future is a city with no blood on its hands—a city paying no abhorrent toll to the insatiable powers of evil. As of old the Minotaur was slain, so here again will history be repeated and the living tribute cease to be paid into the hand of sin and death.

## THOMAS PAINE

An admirer of Thomas Paine asks why so liberal a paper as The Outlook allows the centenary of the death of Thomas Paine to pass without comment. It might be sufficient to answer that The Outlook celebrates the anniversaries of the birth of great men, not the anniversaries of their death. That an admirer of Thomas Paine should wish to celebrate his death-day appears to us a curious anomaly.

But if the recent anniversary were that of Thomas Paine's birth, not his death, we should not commemorate it. For we do not share our correspondent's admiration for his honored hero. Thomas Paine was an able pamphleteer in an age when pamphlets rendered the service attempted in our age by editorial and magazine writers. But we do not regard him as either politically or religiously a great leader. The "Dictionary of National Biography" correctly interprets at once the popularity of his writing at the time and its subsequent disappearance from the realm of influential literature: "He attributed to the power of his reasoning all that may more fitly be ascribed to the singular fitness of his formulæ to express the political passions of the time." Intellectually and religiously he was a child of the French Revolution, and, to quote again, "expresses with uncompromising sharpness the doctrine of political rights held by the French Revolutionists."

In his religious writing Thomas Paine was an iconoclast. He made no attempt to understand either the Bible or the reasons why it had for ages been regarded with veneration. When he wrote the First Part of "The Age of Reason" he rather ostentatiously stated that he possessed no Bible. There is nothing to indicate that he had ever even read one. All his knowledge of it, if it can be called knowledge, was derived at second hand. He supplied himself with a copy when he wrote the Second Part, not, however, to learn what it contained, but to attack it more effectively.

Many of Thomas Paine's criticisms on the literalism of interpretation current in his time are just, and some of his other criticisms concern certain fundamental tenets in the theology of that day. But it is quite evident that he was neither acquainted with the Bible nor endeavored to become acquainted with it. That the Ten Commandments form the oldest, simplest, and most comprehensive of all the world's moral codes; that the Hebrew Commonwealth was the first political organization to hedge about the powers of the king with constitutional restrictions; that it was the first to establish the three great departments of government—the legislative, judicial, and executive; that it was the first to create a popular legislative assembly, to prohibit a hereditary caste or class, to guard against land monopoly, and to make the priesthood dependent on the voluntary contributions of the people; that

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the prophets were the first to teach that God is a moral Being who demands righteousness of his people and who demands nothing else, the first to define religion as doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly with God, the first to teach that there is divine forgiveness of sin and rescue from it—he apparently did not know, or, if he did know, he did not think these matters of any serious concern. He ought not perhaps to be greatly blamed for this; for these facts were not then, as they are now, the commonplace of Biblical scholarship. But in estimating the present value of his book they cannot be ignored. And they lead the modern thinker to leave "The Age of Reason" in the oblivion to which time and the development of a better and more rational thought has rightly consigned it.

## AN OLD LIBRARIAN

Mr. John Cotton Dana, the librarian of the Newark Public Library, is one of the best-known men in his profession by reason of the intelligence and skill with which he has widened the service of the public library and brought books and people into closer relations. It is therefore somewhat entertaining to receive from his hand as editor, in connection with Mr. Henry W. Kent, "The Old Librarian's Almanack," a very rare pamphlet first published in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1773, and now reprinted for the first time. "Philobiblos" was the pseudonym of the author of this interesting document. Jared Bean was born in New Haven in 1705 or 1706, became curator of the Connecticut Society of Antiquarians about 1754, and spent his life in that congenial occupation, untouched by current events and undisturbed by the revolutionary changes that went on about him. He refused to accept the results of the struggle with the mother country, acknowledging George III as his "Sovereign Lord" to the very end, keeping the King's birthday with devout regularity, and remaining in delightful and dusty seclusion among his books. The Almanack is a portrait drawn by his own hand, a piece of quaint autobiography, cast in an antique form, with the musty smell of old books about it. Mr. Bean lived and died a bachelor, entertaining the very lowest conceptions of woman in relation to the work of a librarian, and conceived of that work as an end in itself, impertinently interrupted at times by the intrusion of other persons into the library. For him, as for every true bookworm, a library justified itself by its mere existence. Any attempt to use it detracted from its dignity and wasted the time of the custodian.

The Almanack, which is in prose and verse, contains the usual astronomical observations, abounds in references to the classics, and makes all manner of bold weather predictions. On alternate pages it presents Mr. Bean's view of his employment. The librarian, he says, may be compared to one who keeps an armory of weapons, who neither forges the implements of war nor employs them on the field of battle, but keeps his armory well stocked with the fittest weapons, and chooses carefully those into whose hands he places them, that they be not dangerous in the possession of persons ill fitted to use them. "You shall chuse your Books with Care and Circumspection. When you have determin'd that it is Prudent to purchase a certain Work, do so cautiously and make a Shrewd Bargain with the Vendor," never under any circumstances buying a volume until after you have read it. He is especially definite in laying down the rule that the importunities of persons who come to the library must not hasten the performance of this task. They should be content to wait for the book until the librarian has satisfied himself of its contents. These books must be kept behind stout gratings in order that nobody but the librarian may take them from their place. Toward persons who come to the library the custodian ought to be courteous, but he must use the utmost vigilance, for the thief of books is his eternal foe; "there be sneeking unutterable Villains who will enter a Library, and in their furtive and Detestable fashion carry from it one of its Treasures!" Mr. Bean is of opinion that the just condemnation of the wretch who purloins a book is recorded in a warning displayed in the library of the Monastery of San Pedro at Barcelona:

For him that stealeth a Book from this Library, let it change to a Serpent in his

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hand and rend him. Let him be struck with Palsy, and all his Members blasted. Let him languish in Pain, crying aloud for Mercy, and let there be no surcease to his Agony till he sink to Dissolution. Let Book-worms gnaw his Entrails in token of the Worm that dieth not, and when at last he goeth to his final Punishment let the Flames of Hell consume him for ever and aye.

Mr. Bean has much to say about the cockroach, whom he hates with an invincible hatred on account of his ungovernable appetite and the ruin he works on book-shelves. As a result of experimentation, he concocted a preparation which is deadly to this heinous creature. But more dangerous than all to the library are the readers, who must be admitted with great discrimination, "For the Treasure House of Literature is no more to be thrown open to the ravages of the unreasoning Mob than is a fair Garden to be laid unprotected at the Mercy of a Swarm of Beasts." Every one who asks for a book must be of good reputation, scholarly habits, and sober demeanor. All triflers or persons in search of amusement must be dismissed without delay. If this latter rule were enforced to-day, what havoc would be made in the attendance on most of our libraries! No person under twenty, unless he be a student vouched for by his tutor, ought on any pretext to be allowed to enter the library; and women are to be watched with the utmost suspicion. Even if they are not given to the reading of frivolous romances, their presence in a library does not add to "that aspect of Gravity, Seriousness and Learning which is its greatest Glory." Mr. Bean is of opinion that it is wiser to exclude them altogether. He would also exclude politicians and men who talk overmuch.

He is very eloquent about the Annual Examination; the period, that is, when the librarian goes over his shelves. When that happy day arrives, all books must be in their places, and then for six weeks the librarian must have the library to himself, undisturbed by intrusive persons who want to read. Mr. Bean quotes another librarian:

Your Library is now closed, and so it will remain for six Weeks, or perchance, two Months. These be Halcyon Days. The Annoyances to which you are subjected throughout all the Year vanish away, and there is naught to Disturb you.

On the subject of matrimony Mr. Bean's ideas are so aptly put that they would seriously suffer by condensation:

Matrimony, so maintain'd worthy Master Peleg Gudger, is no fit Diversion for the Librarian, and in truth, I commend his Wisdom in the Matter. The dissipations of Time, the vain Emptinesses of Amusement, the general be-pesterment that follows embarkation on this doubtful Sea (doubtful, if not in fact, Perilous) all these concomitants of the Married State so conspire and agree to harass the Librarian and woo him from his legitimate tasks as to behoove him to take a great Oath never to allow himself to be entrapped. Tis the only safe course. Otherwise will he find himself badger'd when he desires to read in Peace; led forth to Domestic Duties when he should be marshalling his Books: and at all times Distract'd & Annoy'd, to the detriment of his Profession.

It is true, there be some who hold to the Contrary. Dr. Simon Bagley writes: I have not found Wives to be altogether a too heavy Encumbrance. They can dust Books; and at times, they may be trusted to arrange the volumes properly in their places.

Mr. Bean gives various instances of the felicity of the librarian who becomes so absorbed in his book that he forgets all the things of mortality. On one occasion, having been so charmed with Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity" that he read over six miles, he was astonished when he found himself bemired and befouled in another town, where he was comfortably provided for and returned home the next day.

There is no craft so felicitous as that of the librarian; none so happy as he, for he "ministers to the Wisdom and Delight of Mankind, increases his own Knowledge, lives surrounded by the Noble thoughts of great Minds." Mr. Bean closes his Almanack with a sure and certain cure for the bite of rattlesnakes. After giving the remedy and the treatment, he ends with these interesting direetions:

Then require the Sufferer to move his Limbs about, at first slowly, now with increasing speed, till he do thrash them about with all the Vigour and Rapidity in his power. After this, let him rise, and run in a circle, or nearly so, first giving him to drink half a glass of Jamaica Rum. When he be ready to fall from Dizziness (which flushes the Brain with Blood) again apply a second Plaister, like the first. Tokens of improving Health are sure to be seen in the Sufferer, if not, Prayers had better be address'd to Providence.

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# THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE CAPITOL

## STAFF CORRESPONDENCE FROM WASHINGTON

TO the Roosevelt policies for the control of organized wealth and the conservation of natural wealth, in the interest of the people, each party and every faction in both parties seem committed. Against those policies there may, here and there, be an individual voice raised in protest; but no party and no group in either party would venture to appeal to the country for support of a course in open opposition to those policies. To them the Republican party is explicitly pledged; and it is for their enactment that the President has announced what may be called the Taft programme. At specific provisions or even whole measures involved in that programme both Republicans and Democrats will aim heavy blows, but against the policies themselves which those measures avowedly embody there has been and will be no effectual criticism. There is thus no division between parties on questions of fundamental principles. In place of such division there is substituted an unprecedented state of confusion.

In the midst of this confusion one can roughly distinguish four bodies of men. There is first the Democratic corps. It is the most easily distinguishable of the four not only because it wears a party uniform but also because it is not in motion. It serves mainly as a future danger against which each of the three remaining groups threatens the others. Second, there is the corps of Regular Republicans, or, as their antagonists prefer to call them, Reactionaries. The ranks of this corps are not very solid; indeed, the majority in this group cannot fairly be called reactionary at all. In the third place, there is the corps of Insurgent Republicans, containing a small knot of men calling themselves Progressives. Finally, there is what may be called the Administration corps. To each of these groups the confusion has a different meaning. To the Democratic group it means the political opportunity always afforded by dissension in the camp of the foe. To the Regular Republicans it means something very near to mutiny and a menace to Republican power. To the Insurgent Republicans it means the rousing of a new spirit and the struggle between principle and tradition. To the Administration corps it means menace to the Taft programme.

The fact, however, that the Regulars, although their hold is daily weakening, are still in control of the Republican organization complicates the situation. They must acquiesce if the Taft programme is to be embodied in law. On the other hand, they know very well that party success without the virtual enactment of that programme is impossible, and they are beginning to suspect that party success may be sacrificed if too obvious resistance is shown to the new spirit manifested by the Insurgents. Therefore, although they are in a strategic position, they cannot openly resist the passage of the Administration measures or ignore the seriousness of the Insurgent movement. Here is where the usefulness of the Democratic party, weak as it is, is shown. If it were not for that party, a few Regulars could block the Taft programme and turn the Insurgents out into darkness; but they know that party ties are lying light on the American people, and that the conversion of a few thousand votes next fall could transform the House of Representatives into a Democratic body. So it happens that the Regulars cannot incur the responsibility of either resisting the Taft measures or aggressively suppressing the whole body of Insurgents. One cannot watch the situation in Washington without realizing that some such idea as this lurks in the mind of every Republican in the rank and file and influences his conduct. One, however, who cares little about mere party advantage one way or another, but does care a great deal both for the success of the new spirit within parties and for the success of the Taft programme, will not be greatly



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interested in the point of view either of the Democrats or the more conservative of the Regular Republicans, but will be greatly interested in the point of view both of the Insurgents and of the Administration.

While it would be grossly unfair to represent the body of Insurgents and the Administration as opponents, the point of view of the one is necessarily different from that of the other. Indeed, the very earnestness of each in its support of the common set of policies makes the more emphatic the difference in the point of view. It will make the situation clearer to look at it first from the White House and then from the Capitol.

Imagine some one in the circle that surrounds the Administration group speaking. No administration in the history of the United States has ever been put in quite the same position as that which is occupied by the Administration now in power. It was put there, not to formulate policies that should meet the unexpressed will of the people, but to carry out policies already formulated. Though its power is executive, it is responsible for legislation. It is expected to see that definite laws are placed on the statute-books. The President has been chosen by the whole country, and, unlike any member of Congress or any Senator, is held to account by the whole country. Moreover, he is the head of the party, and is therefore bound to lead the party in the course which it has promised to follow. In the discharge of the duty resting upon the President, the Administration has drafted a number of bills. By securing the passage of these bills, it designs to carry out the will of the people and the pledges of the party. The people have not given any instructions, nor has the party been pledged, to destroy Cannonism or Aldrichism; but the people have given instructions and the party has made pledges for the adoption of a legislative programme. Whoever resists that programme resists the will of the people and therefore the will of the party, and must be regarded as unfriendly. No one who shows himself to be unfriendly, either by his utterances or by his votes, on Administration bills can expect the Administration to accept his recommendations as to appointments. The Administration has taken no part in any factional fight; it is simply undertaking to see that the plan to which the party is pledged is executed. If any one declines to further that plan, he cannot claim a part in the party's councils. Under our form of government it is absolutely necessary for the Administration to use the party organization. So long as the leaders of the organization accept this programme, the Administration will work with them. If the party wishes to dismiss them and substitute others, it is free to do so. In the meantime the Administration must go on with its task. If it can have the help of every Republican, well and good; that is, of course, what it desires. So perhaps might be stated the view of those who belong to the circle that surrounds the Administration group.

From the Insurgent point of view, however, the situation presents another aspect. Imagine, for a moment, a constituent of some so-called Progressive Republican Representative speaking. This is perhaps about what he would say: The Administration is not responsible, and cannot be held responsible, for legislation. If a bill is badly drawn, and the Representative votes for it, we, his constituents, put the blame for his vote upon him. We cannot excuse him on the ground that some one outside of Congress did not prepare the sort of bill we wanted. If the Representative had had some part in the drawing of the bill, he might well say that he had had his chance but was overruled. In the making of these Administration measures, however, he has had no share. All he knows is that a bill expressing the Administration's wishes has been submitted. Is he to vote blindly for that bill? Is he to offer no material amendment under any circumstances? Suppose he is convinced that the bill as it stands injures rather than promotes the cause to which the Administration is committed, can he not vote against it without losing his place in his party? Must he disregard his own convictions as well as the wishes of the people as he understands them, and, without share either in formulating the bill before its consideration or in altering it afterwards, must he act simply as a

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counter in the telling of the votes? The party is not pledged to any specific measures, but to certain definite policies. If the Representative sees those policies intrusted to leaders who have heretofore opposed them, is he not justified in scrutinizing critically any measures which such leaders sanction? We, his constituents, do not trust these leaders any more than he does, and we believe that before any really effective measures can be passed the power of those leaders must be broken. Should we not call that sheep silly that made the wolf his confessor? It is not because he is against the policies of the Administration that our representative wishes to exercise the right of private judgment; on the contrary, it is because he wants to make sure that those policies are not betrayed. So far as patronage is concerned, we have passed beyond the stage where that is influential. Most of us, his constituents, have no personal interest in appointments, and support or oppose this Representative because of what he stands for. He finds, indeed, the duty of making recommendations a burdensome duty rather than a privilege; and would be only too glad to be relieved of it if, at the same time, he could be relieved of the responsibility for bad appointments. It is true that when his recommendations are held up, he is bothered by an increased correspondence; but he finds that offset by increased local sentiment in support of him for his independent stand. Of course we, his constituents, acknowledge that the Administration must use the party leaders; but we do not believe that that makes it necessary for the Administration to use its influence to retain in power leaders who have misused that power. So far, then, from being obstructionists to the Administration measures, the Insurgents are the best friends of those measures, and are following a course of action which is most likely to insure their genuine adoption. So might argue one who belonged to a circle about the Insurgent corps.

It is from these two points of view that the progress of the Taft programme through Congress will be watched. This programme includes the following bills:

First in order of advancement is the bill for the admission of Arizona and New Mexico to Statehood. Strictly speaking, this does not belong to the Roosevelt policies any more than the Ship Subsidy bill, although it had Mr. Roosevelt's approval. To it the party is pledged, and on its behalf Mr. Taft's recommendations have been explicit. Though the Republican promise of Statehood to Arizona and New Mexico was given hastily and without proper consideration, it is felt to be binding. The bill in one form has already passed the House, and votes were cast for the bill by men who regarded it as an outrage. If the bill becomes a law, two sovereign States will enter the Union unfitted for their position and yet entitled to participate in the government of the rest of the country. They will enter the Union, not because the people throughout the Nation called for them, but because their advocates succeeded in getting a promise into a party platform. By virtue of their admission, fewer people than are contained in any one of a number of American cities will have twice the representation in the Senate that such a State as California, Massachusetts, New York, or Illinois has; and great special interests will find new instruments at their disposal by which to influence Federal legislation. To this bill Insurgents are as clearly pledged as any other Republicans. The only hope that either a Regular or an Insurgent can have for the defeat of this plan lies in a disagreement between the two houses as to the specific provisions of the measure.

Next in order of advancement is the bill to establish Postal Savings Banks. This is distinctly in fulfillment of a party pledge as well as of a Roosevelt policy. Opposition to it comes from the officials of some small banks who have the groundless fear that the postal banks will draw away their business. Whether mistaken in their opposition or not, they are representatives not of the public but of a private interest. As they are active in circulating petitions against the bill, it is advisable that those who are in favor of postal banks should write to their Representatives and Senators urging the passage of the bill.

In the third place comes the Inter-State Commerce Bill. This, prepared by the Administration, establishes a Commerce

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Court to hear and decide all appeals from the Inter-State Commerce Commission, enlarges the powers of the Commission in several respects, allows traffic agreements among railways, relieves shippers from some burdens they now unjustly bear, and affords supervision over the financial operations of inter-State railways. This bill affords an opportunity for the exercise of discrimination on the part of real friends of the Taft programme. The questions whether it is right to exclude the attorneys of the Inter-State Commerce Commission from appearing before the Court of Commerce, whether sufficient control is given over traffic and other agreements, whether the financial control provided is not more than vitiated by implicit if not explicit financial privileges opened to the railways, and other questions, should be asked in the interest of the very policy which this bill was designed to carry out.

The conservation bills are next in order. These, designed to promote the principles of conservation, and particularly to preserve natural resources from the threatened immediate spoliation, will be scrutinized. Friends of the present Administration are anxious not merely to conserve resources for the future, but also to make sure that nothing in any bill commits Congress to the theory that administrative acts of the recent past for the conservation of resources have been without warrant of law.

Finally, there is yet to be introduced a bill for Federal Incorporation. No plan which the Administration has proposed bears greater promise in its general terms for the carrying out of one of the most important of the Roosevelt policies than this measure; but its value will depend not merely on its general terms, but also on its specific provisions. These will be studied, and, in the interest of the Administration, ought to be studied, by Congress. It is safe to say that among the closest students of this bill will be found Insurgents in both houses.

Perhaps one is inclined to say to a friend of the Insurgents, These fears are groundless; surely no one need imagine that the Adminstration will raise the question of the party standing of a man because he criticises measures which he believes do not fulfill the party pledges. If so, the answer will come quickly, We are simply remembering the experience on the tariff bill. One perhaps is inclined to scout the idea that the Administration is so politically unwise as to attempt to bring Insurgents into line by withholding appointments. If so, the answer is sure to be the citation of this case, or that case, or the other, in which the appointment is delayed or still pending, with the further comment that such cases are virtually confined to districts represented by Insurgents.

It is certain, on the one hand, that the Insurgents are the very last persons in Washington to wish that the Administration should be hampered. Whether some thoughtless and selfish man may imagine he can gain some political end by hampering it, I do not know. If he does, he may be disregarded; he does not represent the body of the Insurgents in either House. It is certain, on the other hand, that the Administration has not undertaken to further the interests of one faction in the party at the expense of the other. Both the Administration and the Insurgents are anxious to see the same policies—the Roosevelt policies—embodied in law. Surely some way should be found by which the Administration and the best friends of its measures in Congress might at least be introduced to one another.

ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT.

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# THE DEEPER TIDE

## STAFF CORRESPONDENCE FROM ENGLAND

THE land question in England seems to the impressionistic observer to be a vital one. But it certainly is a vexing and a complex one. In a new country like ours the system of land tenure is of the utmost simplicity. All land is freehold—that is, the owner possesses it absolutely, in fee simple. When it is sold, the title passes unhampered and unimpaired, and in perpetuity. And the owner of a house or building almost universally owns the land on which it stands. It is true that in some cities, as in New York, a few buildings are on leasehold land, but the number is so small as merely to emphasize the extent of the contrary practice.

But in an old country, where land titles come down from feudal days, the matter is not so simple. All the land originally belonged to the King. He granted to his lords and barons large tracts of it, in consideration of which they owed him certain services, such as the providing of so many men to fight the King's battles. They in turn allotted certain portions of their land to their retainers in return for specified services, either such as a free man might render or such as were servile. In these two ways, speaking in the roughest sort of way, arose the forms of tenure known as freehold and copyhold. The latter form can no longer be created, but it still exists extensively, and the holder of such lands must still make certain real, or traditional and symbolical, payments to the descendant of an ancient manorial lord. For instance, the old law of copyhold tenure provided that on the death of the holder the lord of the manor might take the best beast on the lands as his own. This law has given rise within a very few years to an interesting case. On a piece of property near one of the big race-courses a corner of the land was copyhold, and that particular corner happened to contain the stables. During the racing season the owner died, and the lord of the manor descended upon the property and took the best beast it contained—a horse which had recently won the Derby, the classic of English horse races. And he made good his right to the horse in the courts. The incident suggests some of the peculiarities of English land tenure.

In many other ways, unknown in a new country, titles are complicated and obscured, so that, in the words of a Parliamentary authority on the subject, "the laws relating to land are so complicated that only lawyers can understand them." An acquaintance of mine told me the other day that he recently bought a piece of land, in the deed of which a strip along one edge of the property was described as a *freeboard*. Having no idea what the term meant in such a connection, he hunted up authorities. The latest reference he could find to the subject was in a book written in Latin and published in the reign of Queen Anne. There he found that a *freeboard* was a strip just as wide as the distance a wounded stag could jump; on to this strip the owner of the neighboring land might follow wounded game. The stags have vanished with the years, but the freeboard remains, a vexation to both owners. Neither knows exactly what his rights are along this strip. It makes little difference while the land is agricultural, but if it should come to be closely built upon, annoying complications might arise. So the continuation of feudal ideas, terms, customs, and practices into a time when the reason for them—the feudal relationship of lord and vassal—has vanished, has made the question of land tenure not only an intricate one to comprehend, but a delicate one to touch. But the feudal idea has even more to answer for than this.

In the old days much of the land was common land, to which all the people of the community had access for the pasturage of their animals, for the cutting of timber for fuel and repairs, and for other similar purposes. It is reckoned that until the thirteenth century two-thirds of the land in England was common land. But in 1235 the practice of inclosing common land by individual landlords began to be legalized



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by general statute. For centuries this acquisition by landlords of the lands to which the people had formerly had free access went slowly on. In the reign of Queen Anne the practice arose of legalizing such inclosures by special acts, and in the next two hundred years more than 7,175,000 acres of common lands were thus inclosed. In 1845 a general Enclosure Act was passed, and in the next twenty-four years 614,800 acres passed from common use into individual possession. This custom of inclosure has been condemned by many as an invasion of the rights of the common people. John Stuart Mill said, "I confess that I cannot speak of the existing practice of dividing the common lands among the landlords by any gentler name than robbery—robbery of the poor." The practice, probably not unassisted by other causes and tendencies, built up great estates, and tended to destroy the old race of yeomen who used to cultivate their own land. It has made England a land of landlords and tenants, and, in the opinion of many students, has done more than anything else to create the problem of pauperism with which England is constantly seeking to deal in its Poor Law.

In 1876 a census of the landowners in the United Kingdom was made by order of the House of Lords. The census was not accurately made, many owners being counted two, three, four, even eleven times, if they owned property in different parts of the country. In many other ways the figures were carelessly prepared, so that they tended to show that land was more widely distributed than was actually the case. Careful analysis of the figures in this census by several students of the subject, making due allowance for such inaccuracies, tends to show, in the words of one, that "a landed aristocracy, consisting of about 2,250 persons, own together nearly half the inclosed land in England and Wales." It is also calculated that the owners of more than one acre in England and Wales were not more numerous than from 150,000 to 166,000. Nine-tenths of Scotland, it is claimed, were owned by 1,700 persons, and two-thirds of Ireland by 1,942 persons. The members of the House of Lords, according to the census, owned over 15,000,000 acres, out of a total in the United Kingdom of not quite 78,000,000 acres. "The overwhelming majority of the people," says another writer, "do not possess a square inch of the soil of their native country, and are simply tenants-at-will and residents on sufferance and not by right."

Here is a condition which it needs no theorizing to prove unjust. Such a distribution of wealth—especially of natural wealth, the title to which arises in the vast majority of cases from no expenditure of effort on the part of the owner, but from the accident of heredity—cannot but exalt the rich and debase the poor. It must constitute a national problem whose solution is vital to the nation's continued well-being. In my limited space, and more especially with the cursory study that I have been able to give it, I can only present the problem seen, as it were, "by flashes of lightning," or rather by the intermittent gleams of the glowworm. But that it is a vital problem for England I firmly believe. That it is *the* problem of England I strongly suspect.

And it is this problem which the most important and most controverted part of Mr. Lloyd-George's Budget attacks. Not with any attempt at a complete solution, not even perhaps with an entire consciousness of whither his proposals really tend, but in a tentative and modest endeavor to correct some of the injustice inherent in present conditions.

Mr. Lloyd-George's land proposals are five, of which the first is a tax of twenty per cent on the unearned increment of land. Unearned increment is an unwieldy phrase, but it means a very real and simple thing. Everybody knows that the value of land in or near a city or town increases, whether the owner does anything to improve it or not. The mere fact that it lies in a growing part of the community, where population is increasing and business is developing, raises the value of the land, sometimes steadily, sometimes by leaps and bounds. If you own a piece of land on a business street, and a fine building or two goes up near it, so also goes up the price of your property. If your land, entirely undeveloped, lies on the outskirts of the town, and the town grows out to and takes it in, up jump your values. The incident is of every-

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day occurrence, the fact of elementary simplicity. The crucial point about it is that the value increases, not because of anything that you, the owner, have done, but because of things that your neighbors and the community have done. This increase in value due to the growth of the community and the enterprise of the landowner's neighbors is the unearned increment. The landowner has done nothing to create it but sit still and watch it grow.

"Very well," says the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "since the community creates this value, and without the community it would not exist, let the community take a part of it for its needs. Let us say one-fifth, or twenty per cent—surely a modest proportion of the value of which the community creates *all*. The tax shall be collected when the land is sold, when it passes into other hands at death, and when a lease of the land is granted to another. Corporations, which do not die, shall pay the tax every fifteen years."

Let us take an example or two of the values which the community creates for the landowner who simply "sits tight," or, to be a little more American, "stands pat." The examples are Mr. Lloyd-George's:

> Not so many years ago, between the Lea and the Thames, you had hundreds of acres of land which was not very useful even for agricultural purposes. In the main it was a sodden marsh. The commerce and the trade of London increased under free trade, the tonnage of your shipping went up by hundreds of thousands of tons and by millions; labor was attracted from all parts of the country to cope with all the trade and business done there.
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> What happened? There was no housing accommodation. The East End of London became overcrowded, and the population overflowed. That was the opportunity of the owners of the marsh. All that land became valuable building land, and land which used to be rented at $10 to $15 an acre has been selling within the last few years at $10,000 an acre, $15,000 an acre, $30,000 an acre, $40,000 an acre. Who created that increment? Who made that golden swamp? Was it the landlord? Was it is his energy? Was it his brains—a very bad lookout for the place if it were. Was it his forethought? It was purely the combined efforts of all the people engaged in the trade and commerce of the Port of London—trader, merchant, shipowner, dock laborer, workman—everybody except the landlord. Now, you follow that transaction. Land worth $10 or $15 an acre running up to tens of thousands.
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> . . . . . .
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> Take cases where the value of land has gone up in the course, perhaps, of a couple of years through a new tramway or a new railway being opened. Golder's Green is a case in point. A few years ago there was a plot of land there which was sold at $800. Last year I went and opened a tube railway there. What was the result? This year that very piece of land has been sold for $10,500—$800 before the railway was opened—before I went there—$10,500 now. . . .

Any one who has ever owned land, or known those who have, in a growing community, can supply examples from his own experience.

Let it be noted that the Chancellor proposes to start from the present moment with his unearned increment tax. He says to the landowner: "You may keep every penny that the community has made for you in the past; but from now on you may keep only four-fifths of what the community makes for you—the other fifth the community will take for the common use."

This principle leads naturally to Mr. Lloyd-George's second proposal—for an official valuation of all the lands in the United Kingdom. Such a valuation is essential for the determination of the unearned increment, and of another tax which we shall consider in a moment. The effect of this provision will be to make a new Domesday Book, in which will be written down the site value of every piece of land in the four kingdoms. The site value of the land is the value which it possesses just because it is a piece of plain land situated just where it is. Site value takes no account of improvements, buildings or other structures, timber or other growing things. It represents the amount which the fee simple of the piece of property, divested of all such improvements, might be expected to bring if sold in the open market by a willing seller.

The new Domesday Book, which such a valuation will create, will be of the greatest utility, not only for the purposes of the new taxation, but for local rating, and because it will show the whole country just what is the actual value of its greatest natural resource and in whose hands it is held. It will be an accurate register of

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the present distribution of natural wealth. It will perhaps reveal conditions of which the English people are only dimly conscious, and will conceivably disclose that the concentration of landed wealth in a few hands is more pronounced than even close students of the subject have realized. Perhaps it will reveal just the opposite condition—but it does not seem likely. It is asserted, with a good deal of plausibility, that the strongest opposition on the part of landowners is to this provision of the Budget. They do not want, it is said, the public to know what land they own and what it is really worth.

The third proposal of Mr. Lloyd-George is for a tax of a halfpenny in the pound (roughly, two-fifths of one per cent) on the value of undeveloped land, "of land which is not used to the best advantage." This will not seem a very revolutionary proposal to America, where almost universally, I believe, undeveloped land is taxed. At any rate, I know that just before I left home I paid a tax on a modest piece of land which I had just bought—for a home some day—not at the rate of two-fifths of one per cent, but at the rate of two per cent, at least, on the true value of it. And the little piece is as undeveloped as any land can be. But in England land in towns which is unbuilt upon is taxed hardly at all. In fact, even unoccupied houses are untaxed. (From this proposed tax, and the unearned increment tax as well, agricultural land is to be exempt, so we will ignore such land in considering the subject.) As a result we have such anomalies as these:

In London, Devonshire House, its grounds and garden, occupy 163,000 square feet. Its taxed value is $20,840. The block just across the street, on which stand the Berkeley Hotel and other buildings (area about 153,000 square feet) is taxed on a valuation of $217,850. The Ritz Hotel, just across Piccadilly, occupies an area of 26,000 square feet and is taxed on $85,420; Lansdowne House, its garden and grounds, occupy 93,000 square feet and are taxed on $12,500. Of course there is a difference in the values of the buildings on the plots here compared, but even when allowances are made for these differences in the values of improvements, the discrimination in favor of unimproved land is apparent. The present system penalizes development, puts a premium on undevelopment.

On this point Mr. Lloyd-George has said:

> The owner of valuable land which is required, or likely in the near future to be required, for building purposes, who contents himself with an income therefrom wholly incommensurate with the capital value of the land in the hope of recouping himself ultimately in the shape of an increased price, is in a similar position to the investor in securities who reinvests the greater part of his dividends; but, while the latter is required to pay income tax both upon the portion of the dividends enjoyed and also upon the portion reinvested, the former escapes taxation upon his accumulating capital altogether, and this although the latter by his self-denial is increasing the wealth of the community, while the former, by withholding from the market land which is required for housing or industry, is creating a speculative inflation of values which is socially mischievous.

It seems a simple and not too voracious proposal. If you will not use your land, and prefer to hold it "for the rise," or for your own pleasure, you must pay the community a very modest compensation for the privilege. For, after all, land, even when undeveloped, is property, and profits like other property from the expenditures which the taxpayers of the community make for the common good.

The fourth proposal relates to leaseholds. And here we enter upon a system practically unknown in the United States, except here and there in a few of the larger cities.

> "You have a system in this country," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "which is not tolerated in any other country in the world except, I believe, Turkey—the system whereby landlords take advantage of the fact that they have got complete control over the land to let it for a term of years. Spend money upon it in building, in developing it, in improving the buildings, and year by year the value passes into the pockets of the landlord, and at the end of sixty, seventy, eighty, or ninety years the whole of it passes away to the pockets of a man who never spent a penny upon it."

The system is this: In the vast number of cases you do not own the land on which you build. You lease the land from the landlord for from sixty to one hundred years, pay him an annual ground rent, erect your building, and, when the lease expires, everything you have built on the land belongs to him. Leases differ, of course, in

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their provisions, but in some of them it is stipulated that the buildings put upon the land shall be of a certain size and cost, and that they shall be handed over to the landlord on the termination of the lease in good tenantable repair and free from encumbrances. If the tenant, at the expiration of his lease, wishes to renew it, he must pay a fine or premium, in addition, usually, to an increased rental. Let us consider a typical case, which Mr. Lloyd-George describes graphically:

> There is the famous Gorringe case. In that case advantage was taken of the fact that a man had built up a great business. They say: "Here you are, you have built up a great business here; you cannot take it away; you cannot move to other premises because your trade and good-will are here; your lease is coming to an end, and we decline to renew it except on the most oppressive terms." The Gorringe case is a very famous case. It was the case of the Duke of Westminster. Oh, these dukes—how they harass us!
>
> Mr. Gorringe had got a lease of the premises at a few hundred pounds a year ground rent. He built up a great business. He was a very able business man, and, when the end of the lease came, he went to the Duke of Westminster, and he said, "Will you renew my lease? I want to carry on my business here." He said, "Oh, yes, I will; but I will do it on condition that the few hundreds a year you pay for ground rent shall in the future be $20,000 a year." In addition to that he had to pay a fine—a fine, mind you!—of $250,000, and he had to build up huge premises at enormous expense according to plans submitted to the Duke of Westminster. All I can say is this—if it is confiscation and robbery for us to say to that Duke that, being in need of money for public purposes, we will take ten per cent of all you have got for that purpose, what would you call *his* taking nine-tenths from Mr. Gorringe?

For that is the proposal of the Budget—a tax of ten per cent on the benefit accruing to the landowner at the conclusion of a lease.

The system is well-nigh universal. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that London is built on leasehold ground. The very hotel in which I write stands on land belonging to the Duke of Bedford, whose land, I read in a year-book, "extends, with here and there a slight break, from the Strand to the district between Euston Station and the Hampstead Road. It includes Covent Garden Market—which yields a clear income of over $100,000 per annum—and Bedford, Woburn, Bloomsbury, and Russell Squares. It runs along Southampton Row, New Oxford Street, and a good way up the Tottenham Court Road. The late Duke once referred to himself as being able to meet the agricultural depression only by being 'the fortunate possessor of a few lodging-houses in Bloomsbury.'"

Of course the ground rents are smaller than they probably would be if the landlord were not to have all the improvements at the end of the lease; but the conviction seems to be so widespread as to be almost universal (except perhaps among the landlords) that under the leasehold system the landlord gets all the fat, the tenant all the lean. Certainly the tenant takes all the risk, does all the work, expends all the effort, thought, and capital, while the landlord sits still, receives the income, and in the end opens his granaries to the harvest of augmented value.

And to the landlord says Mr. Lloyd-George: "We want a tithe of the harvest which is reaped for you. Your tenants and the community have sown, watered, tended, and reaped for you: give us a tenth of the increase for the common use."

The last proposal of the Budget in relation to land is a tax of five per cent on the royalties which the landlord receives from mines on his land. Let me once more quote from Mr. Lloyd-George (if I seem to draw too much from one source, remember it is his Budget, and he should best know how to describe and to justify it):

> At the present moment the South Wales coal-field pays a million and a half [seven and a half million dollars] per annum to just a few landlords, and hundreds of thousands in ground rents. Let me give you just one or two figures which will show what is done there. You get, first of all, land not very rich, agricultural land, rather poor agricultural land—and they discover coal there. The landlord leases the property to somebody who has the necessary enterprise and capital for purposes of development. The landlord himself does not sink any capital in these properties. It is only in very rare exceptions that you find it. There are just a few. Somebody else works it, somebody else faces the risk of a loss, and the landlord takes sixpence a ton in the way of royalties. Then you come to the surface. You must employ workmen for the purpose of carrying on your mining operations, and the workmen

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must have homes. So they start building, and the landlord then says, "Yes, certainly, by all means you may build, but you have got to pay a ground rent," and there is land now leased in these valleys in South Wales for which, though even within living memory (it may be only a few years ago in some cases) it produced only 25 cents an acre, the landlord is getting $150 and $200 per acre per annum, simply for the permission to build a few cottages upon it. They are able to build on lease, and in about sixty years the whole of this land will fall into the landlord's hands.

. . . . . .

There was a case given to me from South Wales the other day, of a company which had sunk a good deal of money in mining operations, and they sent me their balance-sheet. I find their profits are $15,000 per annum—the profits of last year, I won't say per annum—and what do you think they paid to the landlords in royalties? $53,000. This company paid $17,500 in rates, they made a profit of $15,000, and the landlords got $53,000—more than the profits and the rates together—and yet they do not contribute a penny to the rates of the district.

So the Chancellor says to the mine landlord: "You are making great profits, without a stroke of labor, or a moment of thought, or a particle of risk, just out of natural wealth which happens to be upon or rather beneath land which you happen to own. Give us a twentieth of the income which you have acquired so easily from the common store of natural wealth, that we may use it for the common good."

The objections to the land tax which are brought by the opponents of the Budget may be divided into two classes: those which are based on a fundamental principle, and those which relate to method. Lord Lansdowne, in moving the rejection of the Finance Bill in the House of Lords, summed up the objections as follows:

We object to these taxes, first, because they are unproductive for present purposes; secondly, because they tax people on what they have not got; thirdly, because they are cumulative and tax the same people over and over again; fourthly, because they single out for specially severe treatment a class that does not merit it; fifthly, because they fetter and obstruct the land market; and, sixthly, because they are based on a Socialistic fallacy, on which you are acting, but which you have not the courage to avow.

His sixth objection is the one which is based on a principle. It is asserted that the land taxes of Mr. Lloyd-George have for their end and aim the nationalization of the land, which is a doctrine of the Socialists; it is therefore unsound, as all Socialistic doctrine is unsound. This contention was amplified by Lord Lansdowne in the statement: "There is only one justification, so far as I can understand the matter, for these proposals, and that is a justification which noble lords on that bench opposite have not the courage to avow. These taxes are justifiable if you believe that land is national property, and that it should be the business of Parliament to nationalize the land of the United Kingdom."

On the other hand, it is contended that the taxes are unfair to the landowners, and unworkable in practice. To again quote Lord Lansdowne:

You have singled out for specially severe financial treatment a form of wealth which is derived from an enterprise in which the profits are small and uncertain—an enterprise which is only just recovering from a very serious crisis, an enterprise which fills relatively a much smaller place in the wealth of the country than it did forty or fifty years ago. It is, moreover, an enterprise which, as we now know, and as his Majesty's Ministers frankly admit, has for years past been paying, in consequence of the manner in which it has been assessed for income tax, a great deal more into the Exchequer than it could reasonably be expected to pay. So that there can be no doubt "these rapacious landowners," who have monopolized so much power in the political system of this country, have, after all, really been the sufferers and victims rather than the occasion of suffering to others. We ask, and I think we are entitled to ask, what discredit, in your opinion, attaches to the ownership of land that you single us out for treatment of this kind?

It is asserted that the valuation proposals of the Budget cannot be satisfactorily carried out because "the complicated process of reducing land to naked site value as proposed by . . . the bill is ridiculous. At the best it would require most difficult calculation and be a cause of endless dispute and litigation. . . . The bill, as it stands, practically proposes to set up in this country two distinct and different systems of valuation side by side, namely, the valuation upon the annual basis for local rates which has existed for centuries, and a new valuation upon capital basis for national revenue. I do not believe there is a country in the

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world which has these two systems in operation at the same time. . . ."

It is contended that if the unearned increment in land is to be taxed, there should be equally taxed the unearned increment in other property, such as stocks and bonds, old furniture, jewelry, paintings, and similar possessions. It is asserted that the proposal to tax the benefit accruing to the landowner at the conclusion of a lease is "to confiscate a large percentage of the profit which was clearly in the contemplation of both parties to the contract," and it is said that "such a disability attaches to no other lawful transaction."

These are some of the arguments which are officially presented against the Lloyd-George land taxes. In private conversation the view is further advanced that, in a country where the conditions of land tenure are so complicated by traditions and the overlapping of custom and precedent for hundreds of years, it is no light matter to interfere with land values and the rights of ownership. Just the other day it was told me, though without the strict accuracy of the story being vouched for, that a land lease originally made for one thousand years had recently expired, and had been renewed by the original parties to the lease. This paradoxical statement was made clear by the further explanation that the parties to the lease were the Crown and the Dean and Clergy of Westminster. Obviously these two parties were, in a sense, artificial persons whose individuality could not be altered by even the passing of ten centuries. If the story is not true, it ought to be, for it throws an informing light upon the conditions which surround and involve land tenure in England. Evidently the problems of landownership in a country where such an occurrence is possible are not to be solved out of hand; but perhaps not so obviously, though certainly no less truly, I may be permitted to add from my own conviction that even the Gordian knot of tradition and the hoary years should not be sacred from the keen blade of right and justice.

I have intimated that the question of the land taxes of Mr. Lloyd-George's Budget seems to be the fundamental one in this election, but I must confess that this question is almost inextricably entwined with that of the treatment of the Finance Bill by the House of Lords.

The following figures will give some indication of why this is true. On the final division in the House of Lords, 360 peers (including those who were paired) voted against the Budget. These 360 peers own 10,078,979 acres out of a total of 77,683,084 acres in the British Isles. Among them were twenty-one dukes, who own 3,717,169 acres. I confess that these figures come from a partisan source, so that I do not vouch for their accuracy; but an equally partisan newspaper on the other side credits the twenty-seven dukes of England with the ownership of 4,239,453 acres.

The question is really a double one—the power and influence of a privileged class both in the economic and the political field. Shall the great landowners have a special privilege in the economic world? and, Shall the hereditary class have a special privilege in the political field? The two questions can hardly be separated, but it seems to me that the economic one is the more important. I conceive, therefore, that the land tax proposals of Mr. Lloyd-George constitute the most vital and fundamental question of the present election, because they embody, though perhaps in a fragmentary and merely tentative way, an eternal principle. That principle is that the only natural right to property is that which arises from labor. Its corollary, that all the natural resources of a country belong naturally and rightfully to the whole people, is the doctrine which informs the Lloyd-George proposals and gives them a sound basis of justice. As it seems to me, the movement which the Lloyd-George Budget represents is a movement which has a close parallel in the United States. This parallel I shall refer to again in a later article.

HAROLD J. HOWLAND.

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# GLADSTONE THE MAN

## WRITTEN ON THE OCCASION OF THE CENTENARY OF HIS BIRTH

## BY JAMES BRYCE

AMONG those who fill the eye and win the applause of their contemporaries there are none who so quickly pass into oblivion as the men of affairs, and especially the Parliamentary politicians. Even those statesmen who are in their lifetime most conspicuous and who most direct the march of events pass out of our thoughts as soon as their activity has ceased. Nothing is so dead as are the details of dead politics; nothing becomes after a while more uninteresting, except of course to the historical specialist, than the record of legislative debates and cabinet intrigues and elections, unless in the rare cases when an event proves to have marked a turning-point in history and to have been followed by results of enduring significance. Thus there have been in each age of the world extremely few statesmen whose characters and careers are of permanent interest to the world at large. The great poet lives forever, and often gains a far wider admiration from posterity than his own generation gave him. The great artist's fame is limited only by the perishable nature of the material in which he has worked. But the administrator in State or Church, the party leader, the commander in war by land or sea, has each of them a short lease of glory. It is only a very few of the most eminent, men associated with events of world magnitude or whose characters have had some very striking and impressive personal quality, who escape forgetfulness.

Few, accordingly, are the European statesmen of the nineteenth century who are likely to be figures still interesting outside their respective countries in the middle of the twentieth. Besides Napoleon Bonaparte and Talleyrand and Pitt and Fox and Wellington the list would include Cavour and Kossuth and Mazzini and Garibaldi and Bismarck, with possibly two or three others of less evident claims. It is a small list for a century full of great events, even if the more doubtful names are admitted. But to this list Mr. Gladstone would certainly belong. His career was one of almost unexampled length. He exerted an almost unexampled influence within his own nation, and he became a figure of more than British importance through the fact that on several occasions his action had a permanently decisive effect on the politics of Europe.

It is not, however, of Mr. Gladstone's political career that I propose to speak here and now on the occasion of his centenary. Much of that career is still matter of party controversy in England, and could not be discussed without opening up partisan issues. All I seek to do is to present a view of him as a Man, a powerful and striking personality, unlike anybody else in his own time or for a long while before, one who was just as interesting in private as in public, and whose qualities deserve to be recorded in order that they may be known to those in the next generation, who, in so often meeting his name in the annals of our time, will ask, "What manner of man was he?"

He was born in that year 1809 which gave to the United States, together with Oliver Wendell Holmes and Edgar Allan Poe, the great President whose ever-glorious memory was celebrated on the 12th of February last, Abraham Lincoln; which gave Mendelssohn to Germany; and which gave to Britain Alfred Tennyson, our greatest poet since Wordsworth, and Charles Darwin, one of the greatest men of science since Isaac Newton.

Gladstone died in May, 1898, having resigned his post as Prime Minister and retired from public life in March, 1894. He had sat in Parliament for sixty-four years, and had been four times First Minister of the Crown. Affairs of state were by no means the only things that occupied his incessantly active and versatile mind. But, as it was by them that he was chiefly known, it is with them that I will begin.



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In the England of his generation the pressure of Parliamentary and administrative work had already become so heavy that it was no longer possible for one immersed therein to be a philosophic statesman either of the type of Turgot or of the somewhat different type of Edmund Burke. To neither of those types did Mr. Gladstone belong, active-minded and fond of study as he was. He was eminently a man of practice, always occupied in grappling with the problems of the moment, in devising expedients for meeting difficulties, in preparing himself to advocate and defend his plans in the House of Commons and upon the platform. For quiet and patient reflection there was little time left. But he had, along with a quick apprehension, boundless industry in mastering all the materials available, boundless ingenuity in devising expedients for overcoming obstacles, and, above all, a wonderfully comprehensive intellect capable of including in its survey the whole of a large subject and of grasping all the details as well as the principles. This faculty made him the greatest Finance Minister of his own generation and perhaps of the century. Nothing so lucid, so instructive, so attractive, as were his Budget speeches had been known before or has been known since in the financial annals of the British Parliament.

He was, as a rule, cautious and conservative in his habits of thought and his views of national policy. It is not yet generally known how often he refused to approve proposals of change which he deemed too sweeping. In one respect, indeed, he may be thought to have carried caution almost too far, for, having learned from Sir Robert Peel the practice of forbearing to proclaim his views in advance upon questions which had not yet become ripe for practical treatment, he sometimes startled his party by plans for which they ought to have been prepared by some previous intimation of his mind.

This quality of wariness in his intellect was accompanied by a warmth of emotion in his temperament; and so it befell that as the former quality caused him to be usually guarded and deliberate, so the latter occasionally hurried him into expressions more vigorous than prudent. Those who indulge themselves in explanations based upon racial psychology observed that in him the canniness of the Lowland Scot was mated to the passion of the Highland Scot.

This Celtic fervor made him now and then impulsive, even dangerously impulsive; but the singular union of the two qualities was one among the features of his character that rendered it so interesting and his oratory so fascinating. In respect of depth of thought and richness or beauty of expression he did not reach either the great ancient masters or the most splendid figures of later days. Edmund Burke's speeches, for instance, are better worth reading as pieces of composition, and so are Daniel Webster's. Even John Bright, though inferior in the range and vigor of his powers, was thought to have a more perfect command of pure and terse English, and was not inferior in elevation of thought. But Gladstone was endowed with some of the highest gifts of the parliamentary orator. His ingenuity and resource were inexhaustible. Never was he taken at a loss. His quiver was always full of arguments, and he could at a moment's notice clothe them in appropriate and effective words; could, through that instinctive sympathy which the great speaker feels with his audience, be serious or light, expository, persuasive, denunciatory, or whatever else the occasion called for. His gestures were graceful, his voice was deep and sonorous, with delicate modulations capable of expressing every shade of feeling. Above all, he had wonderful fighting force. He rejoiced in the clash of wits, the sword-and-shield play of a hot debate, and the more formidable an attack was, the more did it rouse him to the highest point of effectiveness.

Those who had long watched him in Parliament came to think that his extempore speeches made in some conflict that arose quite suddenly were more telling and gave a higher impression of his powers than did the more elaborate discourses over which he had pondered beforehand. His voice swelled, his eye flashed fire, he seemed to bear down his antagonists by the mere weight of his powerful personality. These gifts were due more to nature than to study and long practice, for Oxford tradition declares that he was an admirable speaker at the University

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debating society in 1831. He never, in later days, surpassed his oration in the Don Pacifico debate of 1850; and when his last speech was uttered in the House of Commons in 1894, those of us who heard it from the lips of an old man wasted by age could note no decline either in mental power or in the skill and grace that belonged to his delivery.

That which most won for him the confidence and respect of his fellow-countrymen, and that which those who were brought into close contact with him most admired, was his earnestness of purpose and his lofty ideal of public duty. His views and actions were governed not only by a strong sense of personal responsibility but also by a sense of the obligations which office and power carry with them. He had a fine conception of national as well as individual righteousness, and sought to make that conception the guiding star of his course. He loved justice; he loved liberty; he loved peace. No statesman of our time has rendered a greater service to the cause of peace than he did when, in conjunction with Lord Granville, then Foreign Secretary, he agreed to refer to arbitration the claims of the United States against Great Britain arising out of the depredations of the Alabama. The first long conversation I ever had with him was on my return in the end of 1870 from my first visit to America, when I saw him and told him of the state of feeling which then existed here. There were at that time difficulties in the way of an arbitration on the Alabama claims which to-day it is hard to realize. But Mr. Gladstone felt the supreme importance of bringing about good feeling between two kindred peoples whose friendship would be fraught with boundless good both to one another and to the world at large. Many attacks were made upon him for accepting and arranging the Geneva arbitration that followed. But everybody now recognizes that it was an eminently wise and reasonable act, and that the precedent it set has proved of inestimable value.

Having mentioned the Alabama arbitration, I may digress to say a word regarding the allegation frequently made that Mr. Gladstone had "taken the side of the South" in the War of Secession. That phrase overstates the case, although he did more than once use words which might give such an impression; and he admitted afterwards, very fully and frankly, that he had not understood the true issues involved. Ignorance of that kind was common among even the best-educated men in England. Disraeli, who, to his credit be it said, was always very cautious in the speeches he made during the Civil War, observed to a distinguished young Englishman who had been traveling in the United States shortly before the election of Mr. Lincoln, that the real question in America was not slavery or the Constitutional right to secede. It was the tariff issue that the Southern States really cared about! There was far less going and coming across the Atlantic in those days, and Englishmen were strangely ill informed on American affairs. Nevertheless, there were many men who, like John Bright and the late Duke of Argyll, perceived that the cause of the Union was the cause of human freedom. That was the feeling of the great bulk of the people in England and Scotland. Through those war years, while many public meetings were held to express sympathy with the maintenance of the Union, yet, to the best of my recollection, no open public meeting, as distinct from a ticket meeting, was ever held to convey sympathy with the cause of Secession, because it was known that at no meeting to which the general public were admitted could a resolution favoring that cause be carried. There was much admiration for the characters of such men as General Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson, and indeed for the gallantry which the South was showing in its effort to resist the superior force of the Northern armies. But the British people as a whole stood against slavery and for the Union.

As Mr. Gladstone was a lover of peace, so was he also a lover of liberty. So far back as 1850 he had denounced the abominable government of the Bourbon King of Naples in a pamphlet which made a great impression outside as well as inside England, and from that time onward he was counted as one of the strongest and steadiest friends of Italy. His support of the efforts of her people to throw off the yoke of petty princes maintained by foreign

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arms and unite herself under one government was a great help to her in those days when she sadly needed help. Long afterwards, in 1876, the cause of humanity and freedom again appealed to him, and he responded with an energy and warmth which made his action a turning-point in the policy of his country. The Bulgarian massacres of 1876 showed to the world the hapless and hopeless condition of the Eastern Christians as it was then and as it continued to be till the recent dethronement of Abdul Hamid. But when Russia took up arms to secure the liberation of the Bulgarians, there was a strong disposition in the British Ministry of that day to oppose her, following that old tradition of supporting the Turkish power which had led to the Crimean War. Mr. Gladstone was not then in office. But he quitted his retirement and declared boldly that it was not Britain's interest and could never be her duty to defend a cruel tyranny. Large and powerful sections of English society, including not a few of the prominent members of his own party, were arrayed against him. He was bitterly attacked, was accused of being a friend of Russia and a bad patriot. But he persisted, and he prevailed. Russia was allowed to go forward, and Bulgaria was liberated. Few, if any, persons are now found to deny that he was right.

I have often heard him say in his old age that in looking back over his life the chief error of his earlier years seemed to him to have been his deficient appreciation of the worth and power of liberty. He had a fine faith, sometimes indeed (as it seemed to me) an almost too sanguine faith, in the sufficiency of liberty to fit men to use and enjoy it and to inspire the sense of responsibility for the use of it. But if in this he may have gone too far, it was an error that "leant to virtue's side." I remember how, one evening, the last time that he ever attended the Speaker's official reception, he began to talk to me about Cromwell, admitting the greatness of the Protector, but saying that he did not have a due and full love for and trust in liberty. (Perhaps in this judgment he did not allow enough for the difficulties Cromwell encountered in trying to establish a free Constitution; while, as respects religious freedom, Cromwell was ahead of nearly all the leading Englishmen of his time.) "That is the reason," Mr. Gladstone went on, "why I place him below George Washington. Washington loved freedom, and believed in it and lived up to his belief. He is one of the characters most to be admired in all history." This faith in liberty cheered Mr. Gladstone under the disappointment of some of his political hopes, and helped to keep him an optimist. His buoyant hopefulness excluded not only the morose gloom of extreme old age but also that sort of cynicism which is apt to grow upon those who have had a long experience of practical politics. He saw the seamy side, as one has to see it in all countries, but I remember how he once said to me, in the division lobby, "It is best to be always charitable;" smiling somewhat grimly as he added, "always best—especially in politics."

Though Parliament and the platform and official work were the main business of his life, they were far from being his only, they were perhaps not even his chief, interest. His intellectual curiosity was inexhaustible. He read incessantly, and his reading covered the whole field of history, ancient and modern, of theology, of poetry, and of economics, though of course it was impossible for one so busy otherwise to keep abreast of the march of knowledge in these vast subjects. He spoke French well and Italian fluently, and read a good deal in the latter language. His favorite poets were Homer and Dante, the latter perhaps even more dear to him than the former, because he found in the Christian poet the satisfaction of his religious feeling as well as of his imagination. The books he wrote upon the Homeric poems show a wonderfully thorough knowledge of the text and infinite ingenuity in theorizing, but many of the theories advanced are too fanciful to have gained the assent of scholars. His activity found scope in many other kinds of literary work. He kept up his classical scholarship, translated, near the close of his life, the Odes of Horace into English verse, and tried to follow the progress of archæological discovery. There was hardly a new book of any historical or theological significance which he did not send for. Besides his early

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treatise on the Church in its relations to the State, and his Homeric treatises, he wrote a great many articles in magazines on all sorts of political and ecclesiastical subjects. No rest for him! When he was not speaking, he was reading; when he was not reading, he was writing. Wide as the range of his curiosity and his activity was, he did not wholly lack that saving grace of occasional ignorance which belongs to all great men, perhaps because it indicates that they have been so keenly interested in some subjects that time has failed them to equip themselves with an adequate measure of knowledge in others. There was, however, only one large department about which he knew very little, so little that he never realized how much he lost by not knowing more; I mean the sciences of nature. The explanation was quite simple. He belonged to a pre-scientific age. In his youth nothing was taught at Eton or at Oxford except Latin, Greek, and mathematics; and the occupations of his life after he entered Parliament at twenty-three never left him time for repairing the omission. Seventy years ago natural science covered a far smaller part of an educated man's sky than it does to-day.

The charm of his conversation was, however, due not more to his wide knowledge and his immense fund of recollections than to the freshness of his mind and the genial simplicity of his manners. He was easy, natural, unaffected, free from any tinge of self-importance or even of self-consciousness. Equally approachable by all, he was equally courteous to all, giving his best without distinction. The seriousness with which he used to treat public questions and the frequent vehemence of his speeches gave rise to the belief that he lacked a sense of humor. That, however, was not the case. He could enjoy fun, and would tell humorous anecdotes with great appreciation. Indeed, I can recall instances in which he gave that best proof of the presence of humor which is found in being able to see a joke at one's own expense.

In every form of active life, and especially in political life, a man must act for the best according to such judgment and such data as he possesses, and be content to face the consequences. Every statesman must make mistakes, and the most successful is he who makes, if not the fewest, at least those least serious in their consequences. Mr. Gladstone sometimes erred, and no one more frankly admitted his errors. As a party leader of incomparable force he excited much antagonism and was in his day the object of much criticism. But the great qualities he possessed are now so universally recognized that one may dwell upon them without being suspected of any party or personal bias.

What most struck those who watched his course from a distance was his untiring energy. He was always eager, alert, intense, throwing the whole fire of his nature into whatever he did. The only repose he gave himself was change of labor.

But the qualities which those who saw him near at hand most admired were his courage, his loyalty, his magnanimity. Caution and wariness are often thought to betoken timidity. Not so with him. He would pause long to examine the conditions of a problem and weigh the arguments for and against a given course. If he thought the time not ripe, he would wait, and sometimes he might wait too long. But when he had resolved on a course, he would face all the obstacles, confront all the dangers, without a thought for himself. The word *fear* was not to be found in his dictionary. Opposition and danger seemed only to call out the full fighting force of his nature.

To his friends, his colleagues, his subordinates, he was uniformly both loyal and considerate. They all felt safe in his hands, knowing that under no circumstances would he abandon them. His sense of honor went well with his courage, as courage and honor always ought to go together. So high did he rate the duty of keeping secret what had passed in the confidences of administrative work and Cabinet deliberations that he sometimes refused, even long afterwards, to disprove charges made against his conduct, because he doubted whether he was free to speak. Seldom indeed did he condescend to notice any attacks made upon him. As his own course was never shaped with a view to what might be said about him, so he left it to be

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justified by events, believing that men's reputations rarely suffer in the long run through any words but their own.

Though moral courage like his is rarer than physical courage, and rarer than force of will, there is another quality even more rare. That is Magnanimity. In his loftiness of soul there always seemed to us to lie the truest note of his greatness. He was cast in a large mold, too large for bitterness or vanity and for the sort of ill-temper or spitefulness or vindictiveness which wounded vanity often engenders. Nothing small or petty could find lodgment in his mind. I have known him occasionally, though very rarely, impatient, occasionally more vehement in his expressions than the case required; and the judgments he was obliged to form of the men he might be dealing with were necessarily sometimes severe. But I never knew him to say an acrid or malignant word. Though he was in one sense a humble Christian, he had also a certain stateliness of pride, and would have thought it beneath his dignity to be revengeful. Rarely did he speak sternly of any one; often did he forego the opportunity of a crushing retort because he thought his strength ought not to be used to inflict pain.

The qualities I have mentioned are enough to make a man morally as well as intellectually great. But to these there were added in his case certain others which, whether or not they enhanced his greatness, rendered it more beautiful and more winning. One of these was his geniality. Another was that simplicity and absence of any assumption of authority or importance which made him so approachable and his company so pleasant. A third was the warmth of his zeal for causes which appealed to him on no ground of personal interest or party interest, but solely because he thought them good causes. Like other statesmen, he found a pleasure in the struggles of politics. Like other statesmen, he prized victory and enjoyed the exercise of his own faculties in winning and using power. But he was every whit as ardent in advocating causes from the success of which he had nothing whatever to gain. A long life passed in political strife, a long possession of power, left him uncorrupted and unworldly to the last. Disinterested zeal such as he showed for righteousness and purity and the spread of the Gospel and the substitution of friendship for enmity between the nations has been rare indeed among the statesmen of any country. I need hardly say that, although his love of justice and his sense of honor would have made him an upright and loyal man whatever had been his religious convictions, his life was, in fact, ruled by a deep and earnest piety, and by a feeling of Christian duty which sustained him in every crisis.

When, after fifteen years, I look back upon him, it is easy to perceive, as his friends perceived even when they stood by his side, some defects in his mental habits, some errors of judgment in his political career. But I am struck even more than in the old days by the recollection of the dignity, the simplicity, the nobility of Mr. Gladstone's nature. It is these things, not less than the intellectual force, the strenuous will, the dauntless courage, the unwearied energy, that made not only the great career which stands as a beacon light to future generations, but also the character whose memory those who saw him close at hand, and knew him as he lived, cherish with undying affection.

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# THE HUMAN FACTOR IN RURAL LIFE[1]

## BY SIR HORACE PLUNKETT

THE tendencies of modern civilization which have resulted in the neglect of rural life must now be considered in their application to the United States. I have noted the awakening of the public conscience to a sense of the present generation's responsibility for the future of the Nation. This has shown that upon the Conservation issue public opinion is altogether sound and remarkably alive. But there remains to be dealt with what I hold to be a wrong attitude of public opinion towards the needs and claims of the agricultural population. The unity of the two subjects will become more plain as we realize that in rural life is to be found the greatest waste of National resources, both human and material. In treating them together the understanding reader will discern that I am with good reason hitching my rural life wagon to the Conservation star.

I have set out somewhat fully the causes to which may be attributed the general unconcern for the welfare of that great body of workers who conduct the chief, I might almost say the only absolutely necessary, industry—who control the source which supplies the city with its best citizenship, and incidentally with its food. This neglect is more easily explained and excused in the United States than elsewhere. In the first place, immunity from foreign complications has eliminated the military reasons for strengthening the rural population—a paramount consideration in many European countries. Of course peace strength is quite as important as war strength; but there were good grounds for believing that the agricultural folk were keeping pace with the progress of urban civilization and meeting all the requirements of the Nation. The farm lands of the United States have been peopled by the pick of the European peasantry, the majority of whom came in the days when it took courage and enterprise to face the now almost forgotten terrors of the Atlantic Ocean. These immigrants, and the migrants from the Eastern States, have profited enormously by their change of residence. The statistical proof annually furnished of the growing agricultural wealth blinds the student to all other elements of progress. The astronomical proportions of the figures stagger the imagination and engender the kind of pride a man feels when he is first told the number of red corpuscles luxuriating in his blood. But by far the most important of all the causes which have subordinated rural to urban interests in the National economy is the attitude towards their own problems—the outlook toward the life of the open country—of those immediately affected, the actual farmers.

It must not be imagined that the apparent apathy of farmers is due to contentment. Like others of their calling, they keep a full stock of grievances in their mental stores. They have very definite opinions as to what is wrong, but to these opinions no formal expression is given. They would like to remold "the scheme of things entire;" but they lack the public spirit which is required before concerted action can be taken successfully by any community. The Country Life Commission held a series of conferences throughout the United States which brought them into the closest touch with every type of American farm life. They received written replies from some 125,000 rural folk to whom they sent a circular with a dozen questions covering the essential heads of inquiry. The Commissioners say in their report: "We have found by the testimony, not only of the farmers themselves, but of all persons in touch with farm life, more or less serious unrest in every part of the United States, even in the most prosperous regions."

The truth is that, judged by the standard of living of European peasantries, the farmers of the United States are prosperous, but in comparison with the other citizens of the most progressive country

[1] The third of a series of articles on "Conservation and Rural Life," the first of which appeared in The Outlook of January 29.—THE EDITORS.



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in the world, they are not well off. Their accumulation of material wealth is unnaturally and unnecessarily restricted; their social life is barren; their political influence is relatively impotent. Perhaps because my countrymen elected to devote their genius for organization to the problems of city government, American farmers have been used by politicians, but have still to learn how to use them. And in the sphere of private action they are, as will be seen when I discuss the need for an organization of their business, even more ineffective than in public affairs.

It will be conceded that any hopeful plan to put things right will have to rely upon the organized efforts of those immediately concerned. Both in the sphere of Governmental action and in the vastly more important field of voluntary effort the moving force will have to be public opinion. But the thought of the farming communities has long ago joined the rural exodus; and before the country life idea can find expression in an effective country life movement, those who are thinking out the problem will have to commend their arguments to the thought of the towns. Therefore I address these pages, not to farmers only, but to the general reader—who, I may observe, generally does not read if he happens to live in the open country—and this although I realize fully that the cause and cure of the backwardness and disabilities of American rural life are in the American rural mind.

I must now attempt a description of the main conditions—human and material—of which American rural life is composed. In the course of my own studies I have found it convenient to divide the United States, agriculturally, into four sections, each of which can be regarded as being more or less homogeneous. As this method of treatment may help my readers, I will give them a look at my map of American rural life. The four sections may be called the Northeastern, the Middle Western, the Southern, and the Far Western. The division has no pretensions to be scientific; the boundaries can be adjusted to fit in with the experience of each reader. I will indicate the boundaries which suffice to provide me with a convenient grouping of the essential conditions.

In my Northeastern section I include the New England States, New York, New Jersey, and most of Pennsylvania, where manufacturing communities have long been established, where migration from country to town has been most marked, and where the competition of the newly settled Western farm lands has been followed by effects upon agricultural society very similar to those produced by the same cause in many a rural community on the Continent of Europe. Second, comes the Middle Western section, including most of the Mississippi Valley, with its vast area of high average fertility, the greatest food-producing tract on the continent. Third, I place the Southern section, where the climate, the predominance of the colored population, the two staple industrial crops—cotton and tobacco—the comparatively recent abolition of slavery, and the long-drawn-out effects of the Civil War are governing factors in rural economy. My fourth division is what may be roughly described as the Far Western section, including the ranching lands of the arid belt, with their irrigation oases, and the fruit-growing and farming lands of the Pacific Coast.

A treatise such as this must of necessity be largely abstract and general. I shall raise some issues which I have not space to discuss and others which I have neither the experience nor the ability to determine. It is difficult to be comprehensive and impossible to be exhaustive: all I can hope is to be suggestive. But I must provide a sufficiency of concrete fact to bring my argument into living touch with the realities. The majority who read it will be familiar with but one set of rural conditions, or perhaps will have first-hand knowledge of none. To them, I hope, the problem will appeal on account of its intense human interest. They will perceive that, in its solution, chief prominence must be given to the human factor, which is common to communities wealthy and impoverished, large and small, old-settled and newly established. It will not, therefore, matter essentially where we concentrate our attention for the purpose of illustration. As, however, in my judgment, nothing less than a reconstruction of rural civilization is called for, our inquiries will be more

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profitably directed to those sections where agricultural society is permanently established, or where the rural population might be induced to abandon the migratory habit if the conditions were more favorable to an advanced civilization.

This treatment of my subject makes it unnecessary to dwell upon the Far Western section, which is still largely in the frontier-pioneer stage. I may, however, note, in passing, three facts which show that this section is by no means without its champions of rural progress. The fruit-growers of the Pacific Coast have, in the co-operative marketing of their produce, made an excellent beginning in a matter of first importance in any scheme of rural development. On irrigation farm lands there has been developed, in connection with the upkeep and control of the water systems, a community spirit which will surely lead to many forms of organization for mutual economic and social advantage. In the city of Spokane, Washington, the Chamber of Commerce has aroused a public interest in the work of the Country Life Commission which, so far as my information goes, has not been equaled elsewhere in the United States. The Chamber is republishing the Report of the Commission, for which no Federal appropriation appears to have been made.

Nor shall I have much to say about the Eastern section, for there agriculture is at present relatively less important than in the more predominantly farming section west of the Alleghanies. At the present stage I feel that the whole subject can be most profitably discussed in its application to the conditions of the Middle Western and the Southern sections. Here the intimate relationship of the Conservation and the Country Life ideas are best illustrated. Here, too, we get into touch with the problem at its two extremes of prosperity and poverty, each in its own way retarding the progress of rural civilization. In both sections the conditions are typical and distinctively American; and I am encouraged to hope that the suggestions I shall submit for their improvement will be substantially in accord with the new thought now stirring in the mind of the American people.

Let us now consider for a moment the general course of rural civilization in the great food-producing tract of the Middle West. I take first the portion I know best, the last-settled part of the corn belt. Thirty years ago I saw something of the newcomers who settled in eastern Nebraska, where there was still much raw land. These settlers, knowing that the land must rise rapidly in value, almost invariably purchased much larger farms than they could handle. They often sank their available working capital in making the first payments, and went heavily into debt for the balance. They became "land poor," and, in order to meet the installments of purchase and the high interest on their mortgages, they invented a system of farming unprecedented in its wastefulness. The farm was treated as a mine, or, to use Mr. James J. Hill's metaphor, as a bank where the depositors are always taking out more than they put in. A corn crop, year after year, without rotation or fertilizers, satisfied the new conception of husbandry—the easiest and least costly extraction of the wealth in the soil. Land, labor, capital, and ability I had been taught to regard as essentials of production; but here capital was reduced to the minimum and ability left to nature. "We are not out here for our health," was the reply I got when I showed that my Old World economic sense was shocked by this substitution of land speculation for farming.

I am aware that this very uneconomic procedure is capable of at least a plausible justification. The opening up of the vast new territory by railways, above all the provision of local traffic for transcontinental lines, was an object of National urgency and importance. Many of the young men who took Horace Greeley's famous advice and went West knew nothing about farming. I remember writing home that I was in a country where the rolling stone, regardless of proverbial wisdom, gathered most moss. Moreover, I am not sure that the method adopted was not the quickest way to get rich; living on capital sometimes is. It was only in the second Roosevelt Administration that it dawned upon the National conscience that, however legitimate the practice may be for the individual, it was not good for the Nation. Of course all this is changed now; although I am not

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sure that western Canada is not being educated in soil exhaustion by some of these happy husbandmen whose methods and temperament lead them to seek "fresh fields and pastures new."

Of the older settled portions of this section I cannot speak from personal knowledge. I chanced recently upon a magazine article, the title of which, "The Agrarian Revolution in the Middle West," induced me to read it. It followed so closely the line of my own thoughts that I got into correspondence but unhappily failed to effect a meeting with its author, Mr. Joseph B. Ross, of Lafayette, Indiana. In this article Mr. Ross, who is making a special study of the evolution of American rural life, reveals his general method of treating the subject. He considers it in three periods: from 1800 to 1835, from 1835 to 1890, and from 1890 to the present time. In the middle period he shows how the most progressive families raised their standard of living steadily with the growing prosperity of the country. They built themselves stately homes, with substantial barns. The farmer was developing into a citizen with the solid virtues, the virile independence, the strong political opinions, religious interest, and social instincts which characterized the English yeoman of the preceding century. The social life which these communities built up, as soon as their economic position was assured, was a reflection of the best English traditions. It centered round the churches and the Sunday-school. There was a growing distribution of literature, as well as organization for intellectual, educational, and social purposes. Mr. Ross notes the winter excursions to Florida and California, the adornment of the homes, and many other evidences of a social progress developing a character of its own. During this period there was a migration from the country homes to the cities; but it was only the natural outflow of the surplus members of the rural families into the professional and business life of the growing centers of commerce and industry.

In the period through which we are now passing a transformation has taken place. The rural exodus is no longer that of individuals, but of whole families. The farms are let to tenants, generally on a three years' lease, at a competition rent. The Country Life Commission says that this tendency to move to the cities "is not peculiar to any region. In difficult farming regions, and where the competition with other farming sections is most severe, the young people may go to town to better their condition. In the best regions the older people retire to town because it is socially more attractive, and they see a prospect of living in comparative ease and comfort on the rental of their lands. Nearly everywhere there is a townward movement for the purpose of securing school advantages for the children. All this tends to sterilize the open country and to lower its social status." The Commission points out that the new addition of what is likely to be a stationary element, whose economic interests lie elsewhere, to the citizenship of the town, may create there a new social problem, while the tenant in the country will not have that interest in building up rural society which might be expected in the owners of land. Mr. Ross's studies lead him very definitely to the same conclusion. Churches and educational institutions, he tells us, are being starved, and rural society is fast reverting to the type which was prevalent from thirty to fifty years ago. But there is one great difference between then and now. Then rural civilization was passing through a stage of marked social advancement which was common throughout the country; now there are distinct indications of social degeneration, which Mr. Ross regards as an inevitable consequence of the new landlord and tenant system. Many members of these communities must have left the Old World to escape from the self-same conditions which they are reproducing in the New.

Rural society, as it presents itself to the observer whose authority I have cited, is obviously in a transitional stage. I should say the deciding factor in the coming change will be labor. The lack of farm laborers, which is the common subject of complaint by farmers in all parts of the United States, cannot fail to be aggravated by the change in the conditions of tenancy just noted. The man whose chief concern is to get the most out of the land, at the least expense, in two or three

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years, will not treat his laborers so well as will the man who means to spend his life on the farm; and therefore the laborers will not stay. This scarcity of labor may be met to some extent by an increased use of machinery; but it is more likely to lead to poorer cultivation, which means the depopulation of agricultural districts. England and Ireland furnish too many examples of the rural decay immortalized in Goldsmith's "Deserted Village." It would be strange and sad if this experience were to be repeated on the richest soil of America. I shall, however, return to this question when I come to consider a readjustment of rural economy.

In the Southern section we find a wastefulness similar to that in the corn belt, but due to wholly different causes. The communities are old-settled, but they are abnormally depressed by the terrible effects of the great war, followed by forty years of social and economic stagnation. Here there was little but agriculture for the people to rely upon, and their methods have, until the last few years, been extraordinarily backward. The growing of the staple crops year after year upon the same fields, the neglect of precaution against the washing away of the soil surface, and the failure to use fertilizers have made tillage absurdly unprofitable. Billions of dollars have been lost by these communities through persistent soil exhaustion and erosion. In the last few years the Federal Department of Agriculture has maintained a most efficient staff of agricultural experts under the direction of Dr. Knapp, one of the ablest organizers of farm improvement I have ever met. The General Education Board, who administer large sums provided by Mr. Rockefeller, recognizing the educational value of Dr. Knapp's operations, are contributing about one hundred thousand dollars a year to his work. Dr. Knapp and his field agents have no difficulty at all in demonstrating that the yield may be doubled and the cost of production greatly reduced merely by the application of the most elementary science to agriculture wherever they are able to meet the demands for advice. I heard him tell of a farmer whom he had induced to allow his boy—still attending school—to cultivate one acre under his instructions. In the result the boy quadrupled the number of bushels of corn to the acre that his father, following the traditional methods, was able to raise. It would be easy to multiply such instances of thriftlessness and neglected opportunity, of poverty within easy reach of abundance, which have brought it about that the future of the Nation is actually endangered by the failure of the food supply to keep pace with the increase of its still relatively sparse population.

The Agricultural Department recently scored a notable success in dealing with an insect pest which was threatening the cotton-growing industry with economic ruin. The boll-weevil, like the legal and medical professions, thrives upon the follies of humanity. It attacks the cotton plants which have been weakened by bad husbandry. The scientists did not succeed in finding in the commonwealth of bugs the natural enemy of the pest they were after, but Dr. Knapp, with the wisdom which prefers prevention to cure, seized the opportunity of teaching cotton-growers to diversify their cultivation. The consequence was that the cotton crop itself is gradually responding to the treatment. Many other crops are adding their quota to the produce of the Southern farms, and an all-round improvement, economic, moral, social, and intellectual, is accompanying the educational discipline through which this reformer is putting the communities with whom and for whom he is working.

There is another pest in the South which does not attack the farm crops but goes straight for the farmer folk themselves. If the Country Life Commission had done nothing else, they would have justified their appointment by the attention they called to the ravages of the hookworm. This bacterial disease has, no one knows how long, scourged the poor white communities in the Southern States. The effect of the disease set up by the hookworm, which infests the intestines, is a complete sapping of all energy, mental and physical. Mr. Rockefeller has provided a million dollars for the necessary research work and for such subsequent organization of sanitary effort as may be required to extirpate this unquestionably preventable disease. I wonder

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how long such a state of affairs would have been permitted to interfere with the health and to paralyze the industry of urban communities. Had the hookworm, instead of lurking in country lanes, infested the streets, I wonder how it would have fared. These two pests are a fine illustration of the length to which the neglect of rural life has been allowed to go.

There are other aspects of rural life in the United States of which a complete survey would have to take account, but which cannot here find space. Some of these I am reserving for the next—the final—article, to be discussed in connection with constructive proposals. I shall have something to say about the lack of organization in the farming business, and I shall consider the economic and political results of this deficiency. I must also, when I come to treat of possible plans of social improvement, refer to the position of women on the farm. I hope to show that the time has come to reconsider farming as a science, as a business, and as a life.

# A STEP FORWARD IN DEMOCRACY

## BY ELIZABETH G. EVANS

THE contest between organized capital and unorganized labor is one to which the community is so accustomed that it has become case-hardened to its essential injustice. When, however, the employer is likewise the landlord, and when he uses his ownership of a striker's house to drive him back to work, the disparity of strength between the two contestants is so glaring as to outrage a community which loves fair play and which has not yet surrendered its democratic ideals. That is what happened at Ludlow, Massachusetts, where the news that women and children had been turned out on to the streets called forth a spontaneous outburst of sympathy for the under dog. For sheer humanity's sake, and irrespective of the merits of the struggle, the homeless strikers were befriended, while organized labor was prompt to rally to the side of an unorganized group of foreign-speaking operatives with whom until then it had been wholly out of touch. The constructive tactics employed by organized labor, and still more the position which the community has taken in the matter, make the event one of importance in the evolution of democratic institutions.

It is a commentary on the anomalies of our industrial situation that the Ludlow Manufacturing Associates, who have done this deed, rank among the most enlightened employers of the State. They are justly distinguished for the munificence of the welfare works they have established. They carry on a continuation school for a group of boys whom they pay for the three hours spent in the school-room at the same rate as if they were in the mill. They run their mill only fifty-five hours a week, against the standard of fifty-eight hours a week which prevails in the textile industries of Massachusetts, paying the same wages as are paid in similar establishments for the longer hours. Their proprietorship of their operatives' houses arose, without doubt, from a creditable ambition to provide good housing conditions for their employees and to build up a model mill village. It is a hard fate that such employers have become involved in one of the most sensational strikes of recent years in Massachusetts, and should be held up to reprobation by labor circles from Boston to Chicago.

The jute and hemp mills at Ludlow are the successors to mills founded as long ago as 1848.[1] Their product demands less skill than is required in the higher grades of textile industry, and the American labor formerly employed was long ago

[1] The present capitalization of the concern is said to be $4,000,000, and the annual output approximately $6,000,000. The stocks of the company sell around 250 and pay 10 per cent dividend on the par value. See the "Survey," p. 379, December 18, 1909.

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displaced by foreigners, for the most part in recent years by Poles—that is to say, by the lowest-paid labor in this section. For centuries these people have been ground down to such miserable conditions that they accept in this country a scale of wages and a standard of living to which no American would submit. How completely their clannish ways and foreign speech prevent their assimilation of American standards is attested by the peasant garb of shawl and head kerchief which even their young girls wear upon the streets of Ludlow and Springfield. Their isolation makes them slow to realize the opportunity for betterment which might accrue to them by alliance with the labor organizations of this country. This, and not lack of native intelligence, is the reason their labor is cheap.

To judge from the lightning speed of their operations at the machine, the Ludlow Polanders should be profitable workers. That their labor is sought is evident from the booklet, printed in Polish and attractively illustrated, which by some means has been circulated in Poland,[1] and copies of which have found their way back to Ludlow in the hands of newly arrived immigrants. A translation of the title-page of this booklet reads:

FROM POLAND TO FREE AMERICA.
IF YOU KNOW THE HEMP AND TEXTILE TRADE, COME TO LUDLOW, MASSACHUSETTS, IN THE UNITED STATES.

The immigrants thus attracted, in appearance, are a decent and sturdy set of people, and the majority of them are in the most active and adaptable years of life. The ability to thus skim off the cream from the labor markets of Europe must be an incalculable advantage to any industry. But it is not apparent that, as future citizens, they are a valuable asset to this country, nor that they act other than as a drag to the standard of living of the American wage-earner.

As to wages, the Ludlow Associates claim that they pay as well as, or better than, other employers pay for a similar grade of labor. The standard wage in their mills, they assert, runs from $4.50 to $13 a week, according to the grade of labor, with an average of about $8.50 a week for the whole working force, women and children included, *when on full time.* But obviously this statement, which omits all reference to periods when the mill is on short time, fails to show the actual earning of the operatives. Probably these short-time periods explain the apparent discrepancy between official figures and those gathered from sixty-eight women strikers (all attracted to this country through the Polish advertisement booklet), twenty-one of whom claim to have earned from $3.25 to $5 a week, twenty from $5 to $6, and only three as high as from $6 to $6.50. It would seem that the wages paid are insufficient to allow the operatives to meet even the modest rent of the mill cottages without serious overcrowding. Conceding that they are better paid and live better than at home in their own land, it is not clear that they earn enough to live as Americans should live, nor that they receive a fair share of the wealth they assist in creating.

The strike began, somewhat inconsequently, last August; its more serious phase was precipitated by a cut from 24 to 20 cents per one hundred yards in the wages of the weavers, decided upon in an effort to meet the competition of mills in India (financed by British capital), which pay from $1.50 to $3 *a month* for labor. It is noticeable that there is no claim that the cut was required by a narrow margin of profit in the Ludlow Mills, which pay ten per cent on the stock. The wage reduction, however, applied to only some one hundred out of the twenty-five hundred operatives on the pay-roll. One-half of the weavers, who were Poles, struck, and the rest of the Poles, some sixteen hundred strong, struck with them, in sympathy. Presently the weavers offered to accept reduced wages for themselves if a five per cent increase were granted to all those earning less than $9 a week. To this the Association would not agree, and on November 5 a warning was posted that all who would not return to work on the employers' terms should vacate their houses, which were provided for the use of employees only.

[1] It is claimed that this booklet was prepared in an effort to attract skilled spinners such as could not be secured in this country, and that this is authorized by the Immigration Law of the United States. Whether or not there has been a violation of the law in the circulation of this booklet is a question now under investigation by the United States authorities.

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The notice to vacate was not heeded by the strikers, and on November 27 the first eviction took place, the doors and windows of the vacated houses being thereupon boarded up. A second batch of evictions was ordered for December 2, but while they were in process, in response to a plea to the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor arrived on the scene, with the result that further evictions were suspended for that day. It was announced, however, that they would be resumed two days later if the strikers did not come in. But these evictions did not take place; nor did those announced for the following Wednesday nor for the following Monday, for each of which dates a new batch of evictions had been scheduled.[1] The publicity given to the matter and the storm of protest which was aroused sufficed to check the exercise of this particular form of overlordship. And it is probable that never again in Massachusetts will employers use their power as landlords to club strikers into submission.

The part which organized labor played in the above events is likely to have a far-reaching influence. Up to the time of the evictions the strikers had stood aloof, apparently regarding everything American with a sullen suspicion. It was the prompt offer of the Springfield Central Labor Union to organize relief for the homeless that first won their confidence. But this once given, they placed their cause in the hands of their new friends, who thereafter became their spokesmen and advisers. The Springfield Central Labor Union it was that brought pressure upon the State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration to come in and try to settle the strike, and pending a settlement that Union appealed to other organizations of the State for funds to maintain the strikers.

The Board of Arbitration, be it said, had previously visited Ludlow and offered its mediation; but the strikers were too ignorant of American ways to have any dealings with them, while the Associates apparently occupied the classic ground of "nothing to arbitrate."[1] As a result, however, of a public demand, the Board of Arbitration again visited the scene of the controversy. This time, under the advice of their new allies, the strikers accepted the services of the State Board as a mediator and agreed to accept its offices as an arbitrator, if arbitration could be arranged; the Springfield Central Labor Union pledging itself, meanwhile, to use its whole influence, if arbitration were accepted, to hold its allies to their agreements. Further, the Union suggested that the strikers should at once go back to work on the employers' terms, provided the latter would agree that the recommendations of the State Board, whenever they might be forthcoming, should be accepted by both sides. So matters stood for about two weeks, until finally, on December 16, it was announced that the Ludlow Associates had submitted their case to the Arbitration Board and that the strikers would at once return to work.

Great was the rejoicing in Ludlow when it was known that a settlement had been reached, and it was a happy set of men and women who trooped into the mill gates the next morning. But the joy was short-lived, for in an hour they were again on strike. Perhaps it will never be known just how it happened, for each side has its own story to tell. But one thing is certain. The Poles, untrained in the principles of trade unionism, can have learned but little of its discipline; and if they resorted again too readily to the weapon whose use they had but just found out, it is a thing that almost might have been foretold. However, by strenuous effort on the part of the Arbitration Board, and after prolonged conferences with representatives of the contesting parties, a truce was reached, and on December 20 the strikers again returned to work; this time not in a body, but by groups of a hundred and fifty, to the end that the foremen might assign his job to each without confusion, and that clashes might be prevented with the hated Greek, who had been brought into the mill during the strike. And for the moment peace reigns again in Ludlow.

[1] According to the Boston "Transcript," twenty-three cottages were vacated in all and three hundred persons were put out on the street. It is said that seventeen cottages were standing vacant at the time the evictions began.

[1] The readiness which the Associates professed throughout to submit their wage scale to *investigation* was irrelevant, as there was no dispute as to the facts upon this point.

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How the situation will develop only the future can determine, for there are elements present which are fraught with discord. On the one hand is a great body of aliens of several nationalities, antagonistic to each other, and all vaguely resentful at the disadvantage of their position in a free and prosperous land. On the other hand is a mighty financial unit which is said to own nine-tenths of the taxable property of the town, and with an attitude of paternalism ingrained in its very constitution. These two are brought together in a New England community and acted upon by a spirit of democracy which the one does not understand and with which the other is fundamentally at war. Surely here is a combination of antagonisms which it is not easy to match the world over, and whose adjustment must involve a long period of travail.

Meanwhile, by their action in the settlement of this strike the Ludlow Associates have shown not only magnanimity but a far-sighted wisdom. Without doubt, there have been difficulties in the path that cannot be appreciated by an outsider —inherent difficulties, intensified by the defective arbitration law of Massachusetts, which needs remodeling on lines similar to the newer law of Canada. But because there was the will the way was found. And in abandoning the appeal to sheer power and in conceding the principle of arbitration in the conduct of their affairs they have conferred a benefit upon their employees far outweighing the benefit of all their welfare works. And they have done more. They have put themselves in line with the progressive forces of the community and laid a stone in the foundation upon which a more co-operative, a more democratic relation between capital and labor may be gradually worked out. The service they have done to the higher interests of the Commonwealth is one that cannot easily be overestimated.

But in every strike there is a third party—the public. Its attitude throughout this strike marks a distinct stage of progress in the public mind. More than ever distinctly, the demand has been formulated that these industrial disputes are not private matters, and shall not be settled by an appeal to sheer brute force. Victory, it is recognized, is not a countersign of justice. Which side wins does not decide which side ought to win, any more than it did in the trials by combat in the feudal times. The method of securing an adjustment in accord with reason and social justice is still to seek. But until it is found an increasingly large number of persons will maintain an attitude of criticism and protest which is bound to have its influence in shaping events.

Not the least hopeful feature of the situation has been the action of the Springfield Central Labor Union. Under its leadership the strikers were restrained from violence, their necessities were relieved while negotiations were pending, and the way pointed out to them for a peaceable settlement of their controversy under the law. Meanwhile, use was made of every legitimate means to arouse and organize public opinion, to the end of securing arbitration by the constituted authorities of the State. The alliance thus formed between unorganized foreign labor and the forces of organized labor, even if it proves temporary, is bound to tell for good. Somehow this crude foreign material must be builded into the framework of the American State. And labor unions are the institutions of the people in which the first steps can be taken in democracy and the capacity for leadership approved.

To sum up, then, a long story, the Ludlow strike marks a distinct advance in the claim for a larger measure of social control in industry. It reveals the growth in the community of a social consciousness which in time can be trusted to remodel the laws and the customs of the land. Thus it takes us a step forward toward a true democracy.

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# THE NEW BOOKS

Those readers of The Outlook who are curious to know something about the tone of a good deal of contemporary German fiction and the brutal frankness of dealing with sexual immorality which some contemporary German novelists, and notably several women, are showing, will find these qualities, stark naked, so to speak, in Hermann Sudermann's "The Song of Songs." The title itself is a piece of shocking satire, and the story is not a history of affairs of the heart, but of convulsions of passion. The heroine is a young German girl of a type which is interesting because it combines a curious vein of indescribable *naïveté* and ignorance of the world with the most astonishing abandon. It is an attempt to picture a woman who loses her chastity without losing her virtue! This attempt has been made by various novelists, and has never yet succeeded in fiction any more than in life. This young German girl, Lilly Czepanek, is not corrupt by nature; she is the victim of an extraordinary flood of noble sentiments with a most deplorable lack of will, and she is the willing victim of her senses. She has no power of resistance. On the contrary, she co-operates with nearly every seducer who comes in her way. A more hopeless confusion of high-flown language and low-flying action, of beautiful ideals of freedom and helpfulness, and a persistent tendency to be a courtesan, has rarely been described in fiction. The story shows, of course, considerable literary skill, for Sudermann is one of the most accomplished of the present school of German writers. But the average German novel is a very inferior affair. It is badly constructed, sentimental, and overloaded with language, with psychology, and with self-analysis. It requires genius to lift German fiction out of this quagmire into the region of art. Sudermann has great literary skill; but he has written a book which is practically without plot or structure, which has a series of sensational episodes combined with heavenly visions, and which belongs with the worst novels of its kind. (B. W. Huebsch, New York. $1.40, net.)

Ethics is distinctively a normative science, not only dealing with what is, but insisting on what ought to be. Hence Professor Ottley, in his lectures on "Christian Ideas and Ideals," justly observes that it is unscientific to limit ethical inquiry to average attainments, excluding the heights reached by a few. Christian ethics presents the ideal attained by the Christ—the ethics of a perfect human life. To him the imitation of God was the rule of life: what God is in moral character, that man must become. Hence Christian ethics is not a distinct type of ethics: rather is it ethics perfectly developed and complete. Its aim is the normal development of human personality in freedom from all that hinders the realization of its highest possibilities; and this only is the true meaning of "salvation," so often misconceived. Whether the teaching of the Church is consistently true to these fundamental conceptions is an urgent question now. Professor Ottley reminds us that this spiritual basis of life has been shaken: it is a time of serious moral peril; the moral ideal in the idea of God is obscured, and its dynamic power weakened. Thus viewing ethical reality and the present contradictions of it, his discussion covers a wide range of truths and problems, and deals with all the chief questions emergent in this time of unsettled conditions in Church and State. Its general, though not constant, breadth of view appears in the definition of faith as "confidence in the spirituality of the universe." Addressed to candidates for the Anglican priesthood, it is a valuable work for all religious teachers. (Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $2.50.)

Among the numerous publications called forth by the recent commemorations of Charles Darwin and his eventful work, none is more noteworthy than "Darwin on the Humanities," by Professor Baldwin, of Princeton, upon Darwin's influence in giving a new method to the sciences of Mind—"the Humanities"—Psychology, the Social Sciences, Ethics, Logic, Philosophy, Religion. Dr. Baldwin is a thoroughgoing Darwinian, and finds Darwin's principle of natural selection a universal law of progressive change. Genetic, *i. e.*, developmental or evolutionary, change is more than a mechanical sequence of cause and effect; results appear that are explicable only by a dynamic conception of the natural world; "actually new things are daily achieved in life, mind, and society" because of this "immanent principle of change." While, therefore, there is a natural history both of morality and religion, the genetic method of study finds in this history the outworking of a dynamic factor—call it "spirit," or what we will. Professor Baldwin's treatise is brief, succinct, and strikingly suggestive. Hardly forty years have passed since Darwinism was so misunderstood as to be denounced at Princeton as "atheism." (Review Publishing House, Baltimore.)

The compiler and author of "The Life and Memoirs of Comte Regis de Trobriand" is his daughter, Mrs. Charles A. Post, who, it is interesting to note, is the mother of Mr. Regis H. Post, recently Governor of Porto Rico. Mrs. Post in a dedicatory preface of unusual interest tells us that the material of the book has been brought together chiefly to keep alive her father's memory among his descendants, but the ordinary American reader will be surprised to find how much the work contains of real public and historical interest. Comparatively few Americans can now remember New York City as it was at the outbreak of the war. The Comte de



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Trobriand was already at that date a noted figure in New York; he had come to this country twenty years before as a mere visitor, but had married in New York, quietly settled there, and took an active interest in American affairs. At the outbreak of the Civil War he volunteered for service, and by promotion from grade to grade he became in the end a major-general in the United States army. His letters to his daughter were usually written in French, and for the most part are here published without translation. They give an exceedingly lively and personal picture of war times. Mrs. Post tells us that "when questioned about people and things, political events or court intrigues, there came in answer a flow of information or anecdote which kept the listener absorbed, and this continued even when he reached great old age." One can well believe, after reading the letters, that General de Trobriand was a narrator of unusual vivacity. Besides his war memoirs he had a great fund of romance and incident about old times in France and Europe. His own father, grandfather, and other near relatives went through the dramatic and tragic experiences of the French Revolution and saw the great events of the Napoleonic era. Thus the introductory chapters written by Mrs. Post abound in side-lights on French history down to the Revolution of 1830, when the de Trobriands withdrew from military and civil activity. Altogether this work not only contains historical material and is a worthy memorial of a noble man, but it has unusual vivacity and story-telling interest. (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $5.)

An old but unstaled theme is treated freshly, winsomely, pointedly, in the Shepard Lectures at Bangor by Dr. A. J. Lyman, of Brooklyn, collected in a volume entitled "The Christian Pastor in the New Age." They are soulful in the brotherly sympathy of a veteran with youthful inexperience, in view of the heights to be won. Fraternalism in the knightly service of the strong to the weak, for truth in forms of justice and right in forms of beauty, is their pervading note. Their style is that of the accomplished conversationalist rather than that of the professional lecturer. Their effect is distinctly inspirational. (Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. $1.)

The times are out of joint in Portugal. But, as Mr. W. H. Koebel says, the remedy lies within and not from without. Moreover, the remedy should be passive rather than active. Portugal has sunk in the scale of prestige. Its soil has been a European battleground. It has been harassed by civil strife. It has been shorn of its greatest colony. The forces of disorganization have swollen, and a well-intentioned king was recently assassinated. But, as we see from Mr. Koebel's "Portugal," the country's position is far from being hopeless. Side by side with the waning of the old political life is the waxing of a new industrial life. Because of the reclamation of the soil, agriculture in general, and in particular the production of fruit and the application of scientific forestry to the great growths of cork, have been productive of much material benefit. Moreover, new industries are being added to the old, and the country is at length seriously adapting itself to the influx of tourists. Portugal is well worth seeing, as we realize from glancing through Mr. Koebel's sumptuous volume, interesting alike in text and illustration, though the former may seem somewhat inadequate to those who "want to know everything." (Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $4.)

The winter arid season in fiction publishing has followed the productive ante-holiday period, and for the last six weeks or so the novel crop has been both slender and poor. Among the dozen or more stories before us none is of the first or even second rank, and none seems to be competing in popularity with earlier books. Mr. Thomas A. Janvier's "Legends of the City of Mexico" (Harper & Brothers, New York, $1.30) are only semi-fiction, for, as he tells us, they are genuine folk-lore tales which have grown out of some original strange happenings and have acquired a hold on the popular imagination. They are retold with the skill of a trained and sympathetic writer who has been fascinated by this folk-lore. An amusing but not altogether probable story is "Lord Loveland Discovers America," by C. N. and A. M. Williamson (Doubleday, Page & Co., New York, $1.50), in which a young English marquis is mistaken for his own absconding valet, is turned out of his hotel penniless, and "hustles for a living" as a restaurant waiter and barn-storming actor. Anthony Partridge's "Passers-By" (Little, Brown & Co., Boston, $1.50) has originality in plot, and as a story of action is better than the average. The same may be said of Mr. H. de Vere Stacpoole's queer tale of Japan called "The Crimson Azaleas" (Duffield & Co., New York, $1.50), which begins with an incident of occultism singularly vivid in the telling, although preposterous in substance. Of Josephine Daskam Bacon's "Biography of a Boy" it need only be said that it is cheerful and has clever hits at conventional ideas of family government, together with glimpses of child nature and some disillusions as to rural life. (Harper & Brothers, New York, $1.50.) Ralph Connor's "The Foreigner" is a roughly vigorous Canadian story which deals with some of the strange phases of Russian and Polish emigration into Canada. The realism is trying in its faithfulness, but the book "takes hold" of the attention and suggests large problems, racial as well as moral. (George H. Doran Company, New York, $1.50.)

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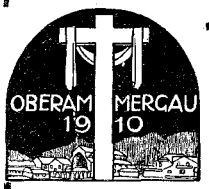


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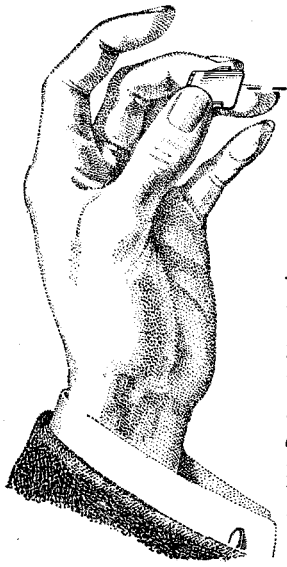

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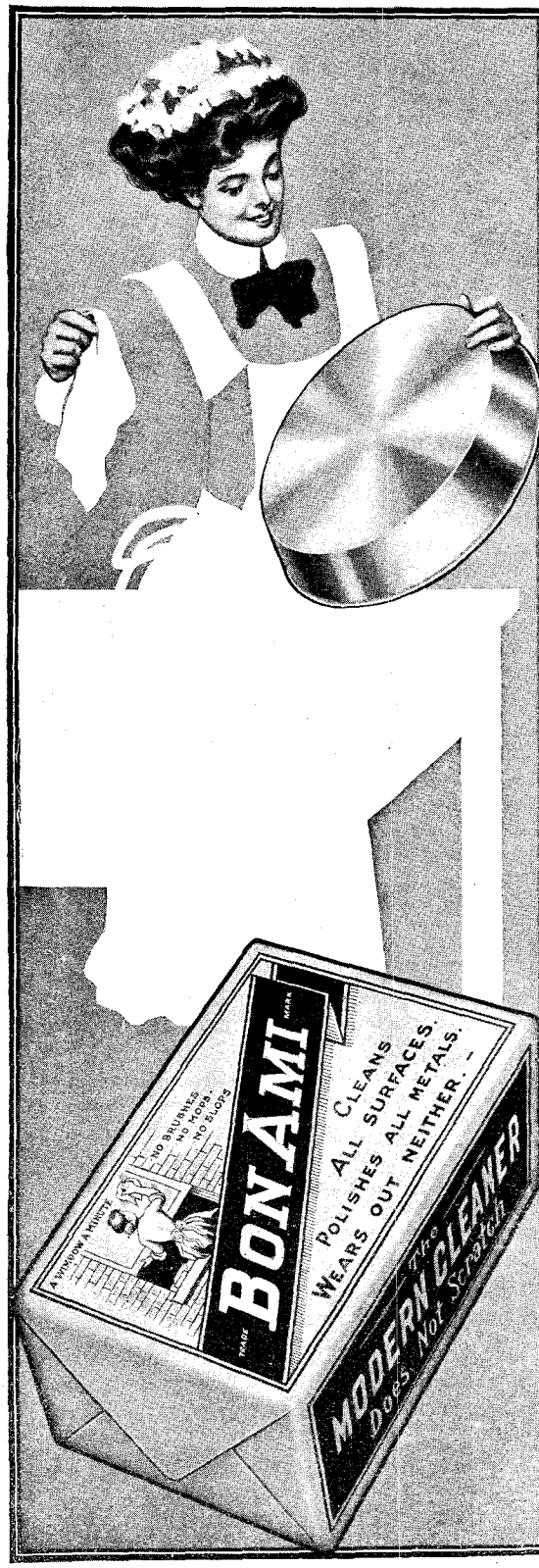


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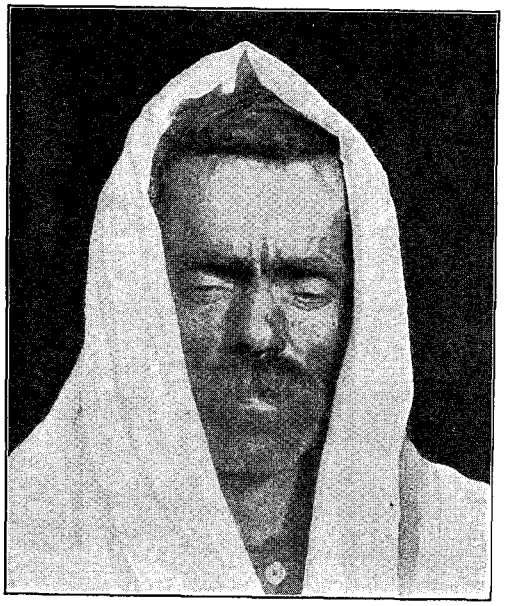

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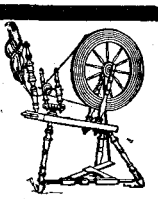

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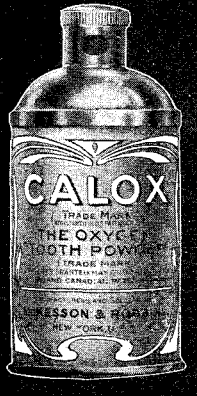


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